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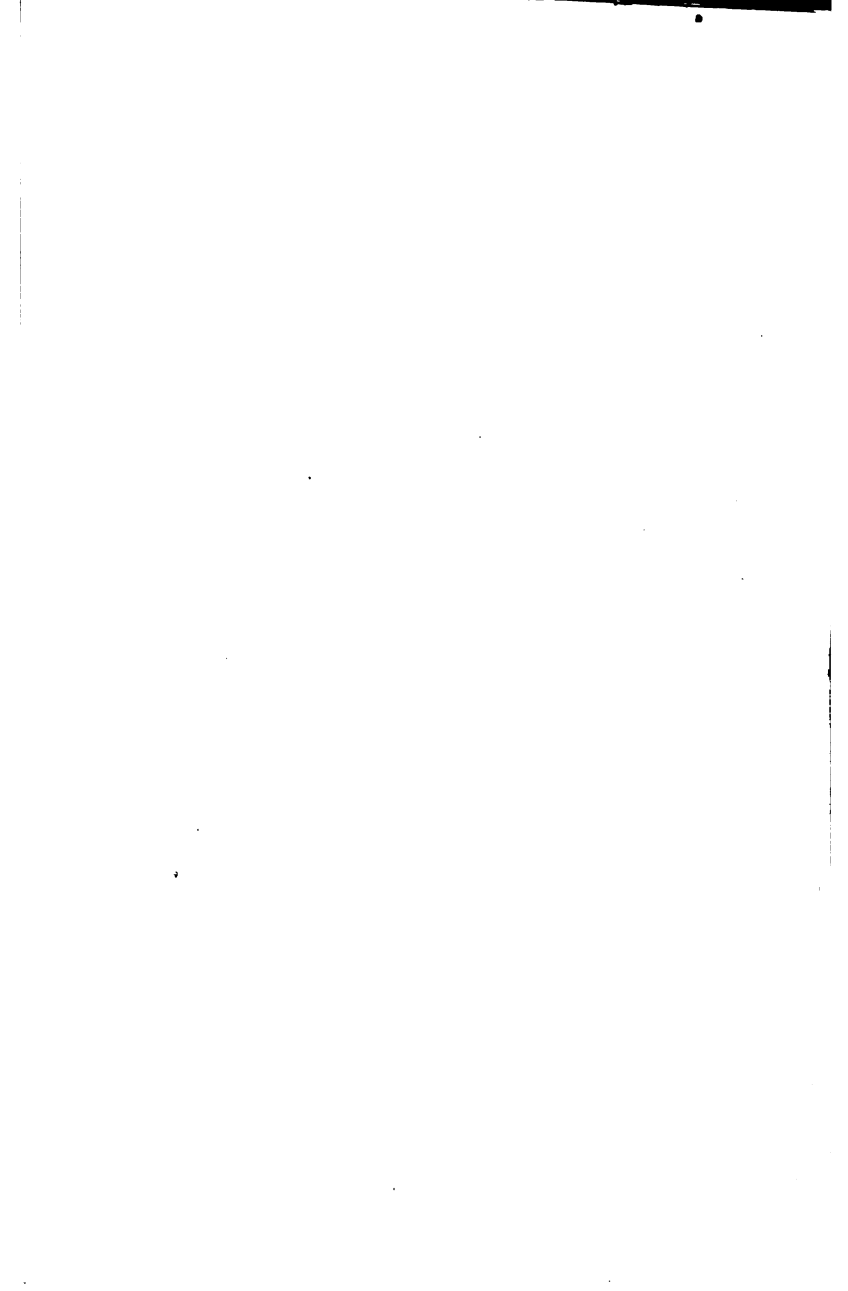
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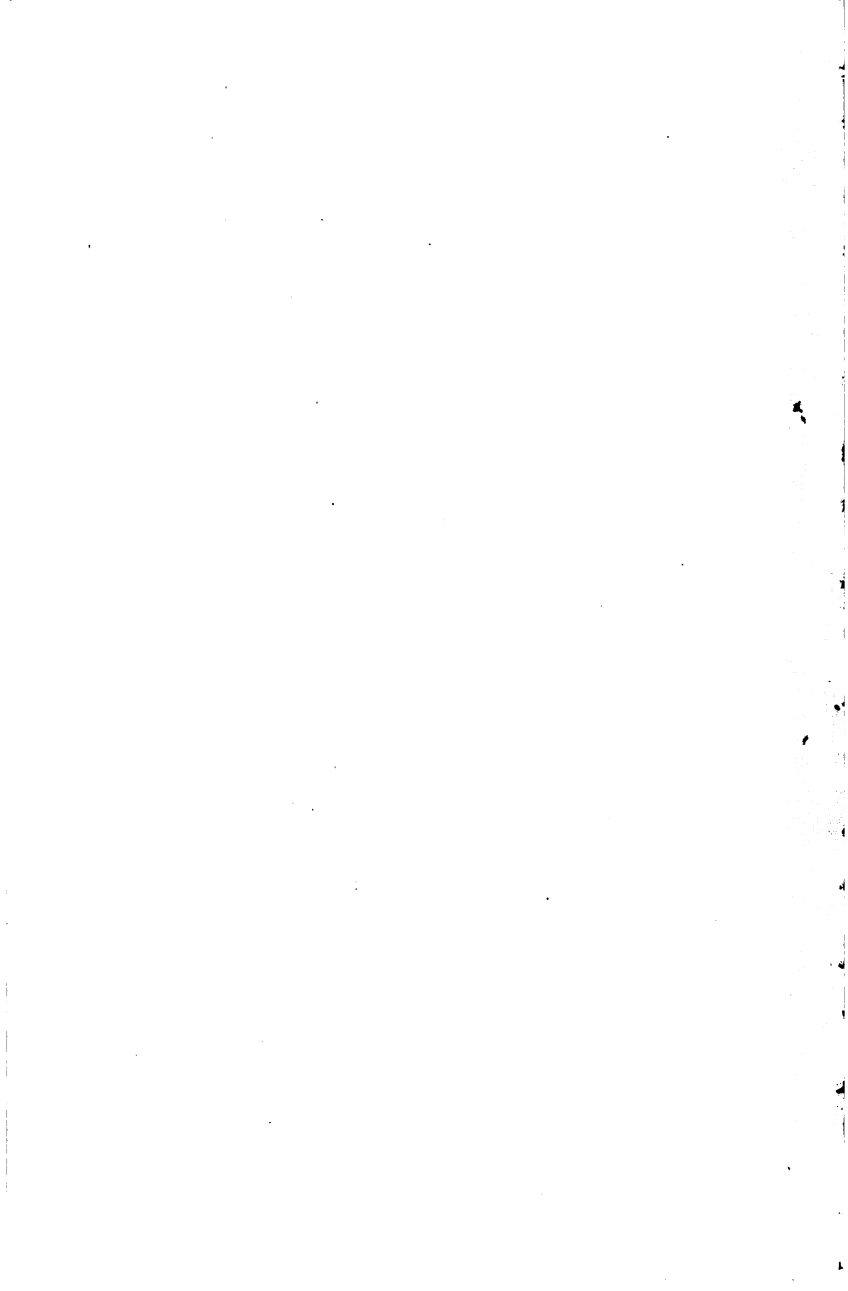
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ESSENTIALS OF 'AMERICANIZATION'

BY

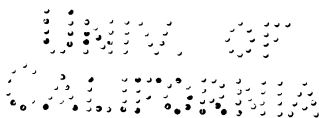
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1919

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS
LOS ANGELES

J. Miller
BG

Copyright 1919
University of Southern California Press
Published July 1, 1919

4112.100

no. viii
August 1919

Jesse Ray Miller
University of Southern California Press
Los Angeles

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PREFACE

To Help Win the War for Democracy is the main purpose of this book. The overthrowing of the Prussian autocracy was one vital phase of the struggle for democratic principles. The perfecting of our American democracy is another important aspect of this world-wide problem. That this volume will assist the cause of democracy, in some small way, is the hope of the author.

The Federal government has directed our attention officially to the subject of Americanization. Through the recently established Division of Americanization, the entire country is being organized for that work. To aid in this splendid undertaking is the second aim of the writer.

There are many private and semi-public organizations which are carrying on unrelated plans of assimilation. In the activities of some of these organizations, Americanization is receiving a narrow-minded and autocratic expression. It will fail wherever it denies the validity of comprehensive and fundamental principles. We dare not base it chiefly on compulsion. We must make it attractive and magnetic and just. To help meet this need is the third leading purpose which has caused the writing of this treatise.

This volume is based on the experiences of living in Chicago at Northwestern University Settlement,

which is surrounded by thousands of representatives of thirty leading races from all parts of the world; it is an outgrowth of subsequent immigration investigations; it is an expression of experiences gained from teaching foreign-born laborers; it is a result of teaching the subject of "Americanization and Immigration" to university students during the past seven years.

EMORY S. BOGARDUS.

University of Southern California.
February 21, 1919.

ESSENTIALS OF AMERICANIZATION

PART ONE

AMERICANIZATION AND AMERICAN TRAITS

CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE OF AMERICANIZATION

Americanization is the educational process of unifying both native-born and foreign-born Americans, in perfect support of the principles of liberty, union, democracy, and brotherhood. It selects and preserves the best qualities in our past and present Americanism; it singles out and fosters such traits of the foreign-born as will contribute to the welfare of our people. The native-born, like the newcomers, must experience the process of Americanization. The former have twenty-one years (politically) to reach the goal; the latter, five years. The former have the social advantage of being born into an American environment; the latter, the social disadvantage of having to break with habits and customs arising out of sacred but alien associations. The former in the years of youth and leisure are surrounded in the home and school by American teachings; the latter are obliged oftentimes to learn

a new language and new customs in the mature years of life, handicapped by long hours of routine labor and despite little positive encouragement and sympathy.

The current emphasis upon Americanization had its origin in 1914 when the European War started and a renaissance of nationalism occurred. Americanization Day had its beginning on July 4, 1914, in Cleveland, Ohio; it was fathered by the "sane Fourth committee." In 1915 at least 150 cities observed Americanization Day. In that same year, the National Americanization Committee was organized by the Committee for Immigrants in America for the purpose of furthering a nationalization movement that would unify the various peoples in the United States.

In 1918, the government undertook specific Americanization work. In the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Education outlined an Americanization program which has been endorsed and furthered by the National and State Councils of Defense and which has resulted in the appointment of county Americanization councils, and of regional directors under the supervision of the Division of Americanization of the Bureau of Education.

The Americanization movement, however, has not gone forward satisfactorily.¹ Lack of under-

¹At the Conference on Americanization which was called by the Secretary of the Interior and held in Washington, D. C., on April 3, 1918, it was reported that six Federal departments and many semi-public and self-appointed organizations were sending out communications on Americanization. The situation, however, is being

standing and interest has blocked the highways to action; pseudo-patriotic utterances have prevented, frequently, clear thinking upon the subject. The facetious statement that there are "fifty-seven varieties" of Americanism is not altogether groundless. Since the declaration of war in 1917, some of the elements of Americanism have disappeared, a few of the elements have united into ugly conglomerates, while others have exhibited the qualities of solid ores carrying pure American qualities.

Americanization is being defined in certain places with total disregard of its true foundations, the principles of genuine Americanism, and without realization that it is not to be confined to European immigrants alone. Historic slogans and battle cries are uttered glibly or hurled with fervor upon crowds whose feelings are likely to explode in applause more or less automatically; basic, rational principles of American progress are often ignored. Moreover, myopically to Americanize the immigrant from Europe and to feel thereby that the heights and breadths of Americanization have been reached reveals a pitifully small concept of the theme. The following definitions of Americanization are entirely unsatisfactory:

- (a) Americanization means teaching English and civics to foreigners in order to enable them to secure naturalization papers.

remedied. In January, 1919, the Division of Americanization announced that Americanization work had been apportioned between said Division and the Bureau of Naturalization. Moreover a further co-ordination of Americanization agencies is being effected by the Federal Division.

- (b) Americanization is virtually a patronizing program based upon the ignorance of the foreigner and upon the superiority of the native-born.

Commendable interpretations of Americanization are given herewith :

- (a) Americanization is an entering into the spirit of our country.
- (b) Americanization teaches the duty of the host, not less than the duty of the newcomer.
- (c) Americanization means helping the foreigner to acquire an American standard of living and an American loyalty.
- (d) Americanization means giving the immigrant the best America has to offer and retaining for America the best in the immigrant.
- (e) Americanization is that branch of political science dealing with the assimilation and amalgamation of diverse races in equity into an integral part of American national life.
- (f) Americanization is the uniting of new with native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all.
- (g) Americanization means to "form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of Liberty."

Americanization must begin at home. Americans must enter upon a new understanding of the principles of Americanism; they must unifiedly accept the tasks of translating these standards into mu-

tually advantageous actions and into helpful attitudes toward the strangers within our gates. The alien cannot be compelled to love America; only love begets love. The practice for decades of calling the immigrant "names," of applying unpleasant epithets to races, of looking askance at the Slav as a "Hunkie," at the Jew as a "Sheeny," at the Italian as a "Dago," cannot be overcome by mere changes in phrasing. Rectification of the wrongs done and alleviation of the disagreeable feelings aroused must go deeper. Through constructive attitudes toward and dealings with the immigrant, the average American can do more in the promotion of Americanization than by any other method. By relieving the immigrants from contact with diseases caused by unsanitary housing, from suffering due to malnutrition, from the hopeless combat with the mounting cost of living, from the withering glance of race prejudice or class scorn, we can best advance the cause of American democracy. We must no longer be content to sing national songs imperfectly remembered; we must become clear-headed, socialized personifications of the noblest phases of Americanism. (A program for educating the foreign-born in terms of unselfish national loyalty must begin with the native-born;) the latter must set the highest examples of public service;) they must lead the way by first inaugurating, in the words of President Wilson, "a process of self-examination, a process of purification, a process of rededication."²

²From address delivered before the Citizenship Convention, Washington, D. C., July 13, 1916.

They must renounce any remaining forms of ego-centric doctrines, such as, money before public welfare, or profits at any human cost.

Americanization begins with an examination of American traits and ends with the perfecting of an assimilation movement that includes young and old, white, yellow, red, and black, native-born and foreign-born. We may consider the "Mayflower" Compact as the initial statement of Americanism, the Declaration of Independence, Washington's addresses, and Lincoln's speeches as illustrations of the intermediary transitions, and President Wilson's current addresses as the latest revision. But Americanism is more a matter of the present than of the past, and of the future than of the present. It has four fundamental sets of characteristics: liberty and self-reliance, union and co-operation, democracy and the square deal, internationalism and brotherhood.

Our national purposes must be clearly stated, spread everywhere, and accepted throughout the land. In taking the far-reaching step of making our nation telic, of declaring definite national aims, and of projecting our future purposes we must make choices in harmony with world welfare. It will be necessary continually to shun the paths which lead to the broad, spectacular road of autocracy, imperialism, ambition for world-domination, injustice in dealing with weak nations, classes, or persons. It will be a continual struggle to maintain ourselves upon the narrow, rugged road of national self-abnegation, of the "square deal" to weak and strong alike, of championing the rights of mankind.

† The first group to respond to Americanization, then, must be the native-born Americans. With American principles understood by all native Americans and stated in terms ranging from personal to world-wide democracy, Americanization can go forward. When war was declared between the United States and Germany, there were Americans of native birth who acted as though they were thinking of the impending conflict in terms of individual gain and were asking themselves the question, not "How can I serve my nation most unselfishly?" but "What is there in it for me?" There were persons who looked upon the manufacturing of munitions of war, the building of ships and aircraft as so many opportunities for piling up profits. There were others who thought of strikes, sabotage, direct action in blocking war manufactures as emergency opportunities for demanding higher wages.

A second, small but important, group which must be included in our program of Americanization is that composed of the original Americans—the Indians. Numbering more than 250,000, they have become a broken, dispirited, and defeated people; they are not an integral part of our present-day American life; their best qualities have not been utilized in the making of America. They have much to offer that we need in the building of a strong American type.

† A third group, large and portentous, comprising 11,000,000 black folk, must have a place in our Americanization activities. Although the Negroes are native-born, speak the English language, and

have adopted the rudimentary cultural standards of the white people, they have lived long in the land without adequate economic and educational opportunities, and they have not reached a level where they fully appreciate Americanism. They have been the victims of such an extensive segregation movement, following the days of slavery and reconstruction, that a startling degree of stupid misunderstanding and blind race prejudice has been fanned, at times, to flames. The Negro problem is the leading race question in the United States today. It underlies the welfare of the nation; it demands the salutary leavening influences of an adequate Americanization spirit.

Then there is another portion of our native population which comes within the scope of Americanization—the Appalachian mountaineers. The undeveloped mountain peoples of Appalachia, possessing a patriotism of the eighteenth century type and a daily thought-life that runs even farther back, are distinctly removed in many ways from our twentieth century American ideals. A strong, socially-minded, democratically-realized America cannot be constructed until the two million or more mountain-isolated natives come into harmonious participation in the personal, national, and international movements of the day.

The red American Indian, the black African, and the white mountaineer—all native Americans—must be given an education which will enable them to understand and to translate twentieth century Americanism into normal attitudes and activities. Each

group has excellent traits to contribute to America; thus far each has been prevented from bringing his best gifts to and receiving the best stimuli from America.

At this point, we turn from the native to the foreign-born. There are about 15,000,000 European-born immigrants in the United States (estimated, 1919). Under the belief that the melting-pot process has been assimilating the European immigrants satisfactorily, reputable Americans have rested content. Hundreds of thousands of adult aliens, however, have been working in mines, mills, and factories, and living in tenements or under "boarding-boss" conditions without becoming Americanized. When war was declared in 1917 and the United States needed the individual and whole-hearted loyalty of all her peoples, many of the foreign-born from across the Atlantic responded with disturbing reluctance. They had known America, not at her best, but at her worst. In 1918 in one factory alone in New York City there were 700 employees making uniforms for the soldiers of the United States, of which number not one could speak English. It was reported that there were 40,000 men in the first draft who did not know enough English to understand the simplest army orders; that there were half a million men and women in New York City alone who could not speak, read, or write English; that there was a total of about three million adult immigrants in this country who could not understand or speak English; that there were nine million adults who were reading almost

exclusively the foreign language newspapers. Overcrowded slums, temporary shacks whose filthiness had become permanent, the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week, working and living conditions that were unsanitary and destructive of moral living, the open saloon—these were the leading factors that had been “Americanizing” many European immigrants.

The foreign-born from Eastern Asia present special problems. Seventy years after their first advent, they remain, as a rule, unfitted into the mosaic of American life. In our Chinese legislation, we have publicly stamped skilled and unskilled Chinese, irrespective of their personal character and potentiality, as unworthy persons in freedom’s land. We have seemed to want them only for their economic value. Because excellent methods have been outlined for protecting us from a flood of Chinese immigrants, and for treating China in this matter as a self-respecting nation, our racial and wholesale condemnation of the Chinese puts us in an essentially unAmerican light before the new Chinese Republic. China is still in the swaddling clothes of democracy and is beholding with wondering eyes America’s interpretation of democracy in her dealing with Chinese immigrants.

The Japanese in our country, with a few exceptions, are an unAmerican portion of our population. Not only were they not being Americanized, but their mother country was being alienated by our treatment of the fundamental issues until the developing exigencies of the European War caused the

dissatisfactions temporarily to be laid aside. California, justly desirous of protecting herself against a large Japanese immigration, passed a land law in 1913 which put immigrants from Japan—a nation of recognized standing among the nations of the world, and in the war against Germany to become one of America's allies—upon a plane of forbidden land-ownership, while it left aliens from fifth-rate nations, such as Turkey, upon the higher level of permissible land-ownership. Our Americanization program must provide valid national solutions of the questions arising out of Japanese immigration.

Another racial problem in the United States has recently developed sinister aspects. Mexicans, representing in general a low economic, social, and political level, have been brought into our country in large numbers to meet unskilled labor needs in the Southwestern States: California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. Many are transient; but growing numbers are settling permanently in the United States. No large-scale movement is on foot to help either group of Mexicans to understand us or to adopt our higher mode of living. The Mexican immigrants are relatively an uneducated class who are not learning to love our country. On occasion, they even become suspicious of our ways and motives. Because of the proximity of their homeland and of the delicate international relations between Mexico and the United States, the scope of our sympathetic Americanization vision must be extended to include the Mexican immigrant.

The hour has struck for a clear, concrete under-

standing of American traits and for an educational movement which will interpret America's ideals in deeds as well as words to every inhabitant of our country, from youthful to aged, and from native to foreign-born. The time has come for an Americanization program that will transform the polygot, heterogeneous elements of the nation into a Unified as well as a United States.

America must know herself; she must take stock of her human resources, losses, and gains; she must plan her future. But in making her human inventory and in determining consciously her destiny, she must beware of the footsteps of Prussian autocracy. She must transform her imperfect democracy, not into another strong nation-state after the manner of Prussian leadership, but into a perfected democracy dedicated to the task of pushing forward the principles of democracy throughout the world.

Genuine Americanism emanates, not from a profiteering, "patrioteering" type of nationalism, but from an understanding of all the multifarious and dissident racial and individual elements in our nation, and from a loyalty to the nation which is open, public-spirited, progressive, and planetary. Americanization is the process of enabling all inhabitants of America to live democratically with each other and with the world.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN TRAITS: LIBERTY AND SELF-RELIANCE

An Americanization program cannot be promulgated until common agreement is reached in regard to the meaning of American traits. The "fifty-seven varieties" of Americanism must be analyzed; their constructive elements must be unified; the rest must be discarded. We, the current makers of Americanism, need to become thoroughly grounded in its history and nature. The four groups of American traits which will be presented in this chapter and the three chapters which immediately follow are these: (1) liberty and self-reliance; (2) union and cooperation; (3) democracy and the square deal; and (4) internationalism and brotherhood.

Liberty and self-reliance have constituted the most striking aspects of American life and character. It was these traits which dominated the 120 men who braved the sailing vessel perils of an unknown Atlantic and took up settlement in 1608 on the James River, courageously facing malaria, Indian hostility, gaunt famine, and rampant death. Since the migration of the Virginia colonists was motivated in part by the desire to seek the reported fabulous wealth and the new lands of America, the liberty-loving spirit did not come politically to the front until 1618 when the Virginians secured the

right to elect their own legislative assembly and thus to establish representative government in America. The initial representative assembly in America, chosen by the free colonists of Virginia, convened on July 30, 1619—the same year in which twenty-one Negro slaves were introduced into Virginia.

The migration of the Pilgrims was primarily the outgrowth of the desire for moral and religious liberty. The Americanism of the "Mayflower" covenanters sprang from an indomitable desire for liberty—liberty to establish a new form of worship. It was from a church that the Pilgrims started on the long journey to America. From the church to the harbor of Delft Haven the procession was led by John Robinson, who carried an open Bible on his hands and who read the following Divine injunction: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will show thee; and I will make of thee a great nation; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed."

The Pilgrims and Puritans alike sought religious liberty. Out of this search grew the constitutional provision that religious beliefs shall prevent no one from governmental preferment. According to the first amendment to the Constitution, Congress is forbidden to make any law prohibiting the free exercise of any religion or prohibiting the establishment of any religion. Thus, religious liberty was guaranteed.

In his Farewell Address, Washington designated religion and morality as necessary corner stones for

the political structure, even though the church and the government were to be kept separate. The United States has demonstrated to the Old World for many scores of years that religion can thrive and can permeate the nation without the intervention of government and of a State church. Puritan morality, also, has contributed vitally to American life. Although too rigid, the moral discipline enjoined by Puritanism served to curb the lower human instincts which lead to self indulgences and social enervation. Religious liberty and moral stamina have become outstanding American traits.

It was out of the search for religious freedom by the Pilgrims that there arose in New England in the seventeenth century the demand for a government based on the principles of individual liberty and popular sovereignty. Throughout the succeeding century and in colony after colony, liberty became the dynamic watchword. It reached tangible expression in various ways—strikingly so through the New England town-meeting. Newcoming immigrants served as fresh reserves in building up the spirit of the new Americanism. In the decades following the year 1710, thousands of Ulstermen (or Scotch-Irish) brought a soul-stirring passion for freedom. When the Liberty Bell, symbolizing eighteenth century Americanism, was recast in 1753, it bore a message which proclaimed the earnest and common wish, not only of the people of Philadelphia and of the central colonies, but of all the colonists, namely: "Proclaim liberty throughout all

the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.”¹ Liberty became the swelling chord which was to free a people from arbitrary rule.

Then appeared in Virginia the impassioned spokesman of incipient Americanism, Patrick Henry, who gave a larger meaning to the concept of liberty and who united the heart-yearnings of the colonists. In 1765, he uttered a daring public warning to King George to beware of his inordinate desire for political domination. In March, 1775, the delegate from Hanover County arose to speak in a small rural church in the midst of a Virginia wilderness; it was he who was to give the country its watchword, to give it at the critical hour, and to give it brilliantly. With absolute fearlessness, Patrick Henry declared that “war is inevitable,” and piercing the misty future he pointed out the basis of ultimate victory, when he asserted that his countrymen “armed in the holy cause of liberty are invincible.” With consuming passion, he exclaimed that “life is not so dear, nor peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery.” Then, towering in conscious strength—a standard-bearer of the Most High—he hurled forth the call to arms, and issued his world-wide and time-long challenge, the unconditional demand: “Give me liberty, or give me death!”

That personification of the spirit of liberty, electrified the old church, leaped the boundaries of

¹The fact that the words inscribed upon the Liberty Bell were taken from Leviticus XXV:10, again illustrates the religious interest of the founders of America.

Virginia, sent a thrill through distant Concord and Lexington, vaulted the Atlantic, shook the throne of the British Empire, and won the undying allegiance of LaFayette, Kosciuszko, and patriots everywhere. It drew forth heroes all the way from the plantations of the Carolinas to the sugar-camps of Vermont; it united Massachusetts and Virginia; it gave the inspiration which welded together the heterogeneous colonial pioneers of freedom and laid the foundations for the establishment of the American Union.

In the following year, the democratic and peace-loving pen of Thomas Jefferson formulated in immortal but abstract terms the principles of freedom which Patrick Henry had painted in burning colors. To Jefferson, liberty meant equality before the law of the land; it connoted a freedom which guaranteed to individuals equal redress of wrongs done and equal opportunity to change the laws which define what is right. Concerning his successful attack in the Virginia House of Burgesses upon the operation of the law of primogeniture, Jefferson declared that his purpose was not to further an aristocracy of wealth, of more harm and danger than benefit to society, but to encourage the rise of an aristocracy of virtue and talent which nature has wisely and equally scattered throughout all strata and conditions of society.²

Jefferson's Declaration of Independence emphasizes rights, or abstract Right, as being more powerful than harsh, immutable, colossal Might. Might

²John T. Morse, Jr., *Thomas Jefferson*, p. 39.

which operates so unbrokenly in the physical world, so ruthlessly in nearly all phases of animal life, so barbarously in the world of primitive peoples, so unblushingly among feudal lords and imperial kings, found open and portentous challenge in the Declaration of Independence. Henceforth, Might must bow to Right, autocratic to civil authority, and heartless decrees of inherited pomp to the free exercise of the intelligence of the common people.

✓ The pre-eminent leader in Revolutionary American life was Washington. His name will forever shine as the commander-in-chief of the army of American Independence; his generalship under the most adverse circumstances is beyond comparison. On July 3, 1775, he was the commander-in-chief of an army of about 18,000 men—men who were without guns, equipment, training, organization, *esprit de corps*. By the winter of 1777-1778, the men whom he had organized into an American army, had suffered heartsickening defeats, had given up several cities, including New York, and had gone into winter quarters at Valley Forge, starving and bleeding. But Washington's noted equipoise of character and his love of independence, supported by liberty-imbued colonists and European friends, finally won the victory for America.

The central ideal of Americanism in Revolutionary days was Liberty.³ It was a liberty which meant the freedom of the American people from interference by any foreign power and which guaranteed the happiness and security of the individual citizen,

³D. J. Hill, *Americanism: What It Is*, p. 15.

as opposed to the glorification of the nation-state. The life, liberty, and property of the individual, for the first time in the history of the world, were placed under the protection of *law*, which was to govern the activities of rulers themselves—this was the original contribution of the American mind to political theory.⁴

In addition to religious and moral liberty, to political liberty, an industrial liberty was introduced by Benjamin Franklin. To the concept of Americanism, Franklin made his unique contribution in the role of "Poor Richard." The teachings of "Poor Richard" have been powerful factors in conditioning the practical every-day ideals of Americans. "They moulded our great-grandparents and their children; they have formed our popular traditions; they still influence our actions, guide our ways of thinking, and establish our points of view, with the constant control of acquired habits which we little suspect. 'Poor Richard' has found eternal life by passing into the daily speech of the people."⁵ "Poor Richard" has been pronounced "the revered and popular schoolmaster of a young nation during its period of tutelage." He is the personification of thrift—a self-reliant thrift by which our forefathers laid the foundations of our material welfare, our individual success, and of national prosperity.

The ideals of liberty and of self-reliance are used inseparably in this chapter. If there is a distinction, it exists because liberty has been so frequently used

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵John T. Morse, Jr., *Benjamin Franklin*, p. 22.

in a political sense, while self-reliance has been given an industrial connotation. The American has been an individualist even more in the industrial than in the political field. He has not hesitated—unless in some instances in recent years—to swing the axe, to follow the plough, to span the continent, to project the sky-scraper. He has become a man of action and a personification of *la vie intense*—the strenuous life. As Emerson has indicated, the average American has walked on his own feet, worked with his own hands, and spoken from his own mind.

The American has been unafraid to develop blistered or calloused hands; he has not been ashamed of the insignia of honest toil. He has worshipped the man who is doing things, who is achieving, who is climbing the ladder of success. Moreover, he has thrown off his coat, set his jaws, drawn his belt taut, and plunged upward, round after round.⁶ The American youth has been perennially stimulated by the dream of becoming President of the United States, knowing that such a distinction was possible to any American of honesty and of sufficient ability. Lincoln is a favorite among Americans because he rose through his own consistent efforts to the heights of fame and service from the depths of poverty and obscurity. Roosevelt's powerful appeal to Americans developed chiefly from his independence of judgment, fearlessness of statement, and strenuousness of attack. Daring to show his teeth in the pres-

⁶Unhappily, such self-reliance occasionally has developed a degree of social impudence.

ence of special privilege, he won a place among America's immortals.

The American has been willing to try anything once—trusting to his own versatility to get out of unforeseen predicaments. Strange and harsh circumstances have challenged his spirit of self-reliance until inventions have burst forth from his mind in all directions and enabled him to defy and overcome the forces of ocean, land, and air. The annual output of inventions in the United States probably excels that of all other countries of the world combined. Under the American's inventive touch, the telegraph and the telephone have been developed until persons can converse without the aid of wires and in ordinary tones across the continental expanse between New York and San Francisco. The phonograph has been evolved until skilled musicians in a concert hall are baffled to tell whether an artist's voice is proceeding from the artist himself or from the wonder-producing machine beside which he stands. The overland train has reached the perfected combination of the untiring speed of the carrier pigeon and the comforts of a palatial home. Seen by only a few Americans, experimenting methodically in an unspectacular laboratory, Thomas A. Edison is easily one of America's greatest citizens. Supporting the liberty-loving and self-reliant leaders from Franklin to Edison, from Washington to Roosevelt and Wilson, an innumerable company of humble American fathers and mothers have lived and worked, heroically opening a new continent and bequeathing magnificent and multitudinous oppor-

tunities for self-development to their children.

Self-direction — this has been the American's rugged desire. Behind an over-emphasis upon commercialism is not a sodden nature but a self-initiative run wild. Behind ugly lynch-procedure is not wanton brutality so much as the rash attempt to render justice oneself without waiting for the slow procedure of law.

The rewards to self-reliance and self-initiative in America have often defied computation. Consequently, a boundless optimism has run riot. If defeated, the American gathers together his frustrated forces and begins over again. Everywhere the American's face has shown with the reflection of the rising sun of expectation. Everywhere the Goddess of Liberty has held aloft her precious torch of liberty and self-reliance. Everywhere the Liberty Bell has pealed forth its notes of freedom. Everywhere the independent and sturdy figure of Uncle Sam is revered. Everywhere Americanism has stood for self-expression, self-direction, self-perfection. If these ideals have become somewhat tarnished, let Americans unite in restoring to them their original lustre.

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN TRAITS: UNION AND CO-OPERATION

In the life-work of Washington and Jefferson the struggle for liberty was inseparably bound with the contest for union; Washington and Jefferson fought for both liberty and union—union as a means of guaranteeing liberty. At the beginning of the struggle for union, Alexander Hamilton stood forth with unfaltering boldness. His work will be epitomized in introducing the achievements of Washington as the first President of the United States.

With steadfast loyalty to the need of establishing a political union, Hamilton lived and spoke and wrote—always ably—until his chief, and ours, in his Farewell Address, incorporated a panegyric in its behalf. The difficulties which faced Hamilton were grave. The liberty which the freedom-loving colonist sought was for the individual and the individual colony. Each colony was reluctant to join with the other commonwealths even in a loose and temporary confederation. The Articles of Confederation made Congress a constitutional body and included the principle of equality of representation. It was only after several years of convincingly unsatisfactory experiences with a confederation that recognition was given to the Hamiltonian idea of a union. Under the name of "Publius," and in

a series of essays, known as "The Federalist," Hamilton advocated the formation of the Union. Through a brilliant series of debates, he succeeded in swinging his own pivotal state of New York into line; whereupon the fruits of victory began to appear. In the preamble of the Constitution of the United States, the need of establishing "a more perfect Union" was given first place. The change from a confederacy to a fédéralcy gave the Union a rank equal in importance to that of liberty in our history. To guarantee opportunity for the liberty, development, and expression of human personalities, a union was necessary.

Hamilton helped not only to inaugurate the Union, but to secure its firm establishment. By his financial acumen, he made certain the success of the national government. He created a public credit, supplied circulating media and financial machinery, revived business and aided in transforming a paper Constitution into a document with a system and a government behind it.¹ Hamilton put Nationalism into Americanism.

The super-champion in the establishment of the American Union was Washington. He laid the national foundations without the aid of a throne, of an aristocracy, or of a caste. In the Farewell Address, he focused public attention upon the necessity of supporting the Union, and declared to the American people that the Union is a main pillar in the edifice of their real independence, the support of their safety, tranquility, and prosperity at home,

¹H. C. Lodge, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 132.

of their peace abroad, and above all else, of that liberty which they so highly prized.

It was not in the spirit of a partisan that Washington worked, for he tried faithfully to draw together the leading representatives of the political parties of the day in the management of the government. He urgently warned against the sinister influence of partisan politics. He consistently believed in the Union, not as an end in itself, but as a necessary means for guaranteeing the liberties of the individual as set down in the laws of the people. Washington rose to fame as the pre-eminent leader of the forces of liberty; he rounded out his career in his later years by taking the leading role in establishing the Union.

In his initial inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson mentioned first the importance of individual liberty before the law and of equal opportunity in changing the law. He then proceeded to stress the absolute need for a union of the states, for preserving the general government in its whole constitutional vigor for the sacred preservation of the public faith.²

The struggle in behalf of the Union went forward into the nineteenth century; the Union was championed by Webster and opposed by Hayne and Calhoun. Should an over-emphasis upon the ideal of Liberty and its political corollary, States' Rights, or a strengthening of the Union and of federal control prevail? In the Senate of the United States and

²Jefferson modified this emphasis by acknowledging the rights of the state governments as the most competent administrators of domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies.

at the zenith of his greatness, Webster repudiated the probable results of making primary a States' Rights theory. He prayed that he might never see the sun in the heavens shining on "the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched it may be in fraternal blood!" Then rising to the height of his political power and patriotic sagacity, amid the silence of an awe-inspired Senate, he declared for "that other sentiment, dear to every American heart,—Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

However, a hungry-hearted and sorrow-burdened Lincoln was necessary before the whole nation was ready to accept Washington's earnest solicitation and Webster's pronouncement. The work of the great compromiser, Henry Clay, availed nothing. By 1858, the advocates of individual slavery and of States' Rights had openly defied the abolitionists and supporters of the Union.³

On June 16, 1858, at Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln asserted that "this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free"; he declared that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Again, the appeal was to the Union, not as an end for purposes of national glorification; but for

³We may here note the ultimate anomalous combinations: the adherents to slavery, an anti-liberty custom, demanded that the principle of liberty be applied to the states in their relation to the federal government; the abolitionists, speaking in behalf of freedom urged the supremacy of the Union as an antidote to State liberty.

the safeguarding of the liberties of the individual and for the widest, most consistent expression of personality. Upon this basis, the Civil War was fought and won. Neither the ideal of Liberty nor of Union alone remained triumphant. Liberty without Union would wreck itself on the rocks of anarchism; Union without Liberty would suffer the fate of a Prussianized state. Together they stand: two essential foci of the ellipse of democracy. Individual liberty in our nation is granted to the degree that it operates in ways consistent with the public welfare; the Union is given power up to the point where it is in danger of cutting short the expression and development of personality.

Union in government has its corollaries in the social phases of American life. Our people started out with a common possession of civilized standards and aptitudes, which were socially inherited from Europe. While divisions have often threatened American life, yet the underlying cultural inheritance of civilized ideals has served as a basic cement. Unto the original racial stock that came from Western Europe, other racial elements from all parts of the world have been added. The melting pot early began to boil; it has never ceased. While a distinct American race in the biological sense has not yet developed, articulate American traits in the social meaning have been produced. Out of the antagonistic characteristics of English and Irish, of Scotch and German, of Scandinavian and Italian, of Slav and Jew has come a remarkable spirit of fundamental unity. In a generation or two, former differ-

ences and old prejudices disappear and the races are united in laboring together and in looking forward. Millions of immigrant children have been molded by the American public school system into a personification of a common American loyalty.

Union of the whole people in the support of conservation has assumed tangible proportions under the directing hands of Pinchot, Roosevelt, and Hoover. When America was asked to feed half the world, a food administrator in whom the people had confidence was chosen to devise the necessary ways and means and to instruct (not command) the people. Then, without bread or meat cards, without police enforcement, almost all Americans responded effectively. The wealthy were asked to conserve most; the poor felt the food regulations least. In the spring and summer of 1918 when vast additional quantities of wheat were needed for the Allies, Mr. Hoover called the managers of the leading hostelrys of the country and the dining car conductors of the chief railroad companies to Washington, explained to them the situation, and requested that all cease to serve white wheat bread to their patrons until the need in Europe should be relieved by the new wheat crop. Unanimous co-operation was secured. All ceased to serve white bread, explaining the situation on printed cards to the clientele, who accepted the conditions. Thus, building upon voluntary action of the people, rather than upon compulsion, the United States Food Administration secured a co-operation so widespread

and united that the lives of our European Allies were saved to the cause of democracy.

The American proclivity for forming co-operative organizations is omnipresent. At the suggestion of a new idea in almost any line of thought, someone appoints a committee which draws up a constitution and by-laws, and immediately the machinery of the new organization begins to turn. The window of the ticket office opens and immediately the crowds "line up." Capital has established powerful and colossal organizations. Three million laboring men are now (1919) unionized under the leadership of one man—Samuel Gompers. The fact that our church life, school and college life, business and industrial life are all over-organized, or that conflicts between capital and labor are impending should not blind anyone to the fact that there is a splendid degree of co-operative spirit in America.

A thousand illustrations might easily be given which would prove, despite political animosities and industrial strife, the underlying unity of Americans. The reaction of our people, when they were once aroused to the impending dangers, in the recent national emergency is the most timely case in point. With surprising unanimity the American people, although reared in the lap of a *laissez faire* social philosophy and hardened by a doctrinaire individualism, accepted the principle of conscription. The co-operative spirit of Americans of high and low estate was attested by the unprecedented support of the Red Cross and Liberty Loan "drives." With one colossal bound, America responded in April, 1917,

to President Wilson's appeal to make the world safe for democracy.

Best of all, the spirit of union and co-operation is symbolized in the Stars and Stripes. With parallel bars of red and white for the original union of thirteen colonies, with crystal stars in a common field of blue for the unity of today's forty-eight commonwealths; with red for the militant spirit of liberty and self-reliance, with white representing not only a democratic blending of the prismatic colors but of the varied-tempered personalities of the nation, with blue for the "true blue" spirit of fraternity and brotherhood—with all these together, the Stars and the Stripes, the Red, White, and Blue, the result is the most expressive symbol of political union and social co-operation that the world has known.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN TRAITS: DEMOCRACY AND THE SQUARE DEAL

The third golden thread that has been woven into the fabric of Americanism is democracy, which is "the square deal" incorporated not only into the political, but into the entire woof of life. Democracy was introduced to the world by the city-states of Greece, given trenchant meaning in the teachings of early Christianity, extended by the Magna Charta, re-vitalized by the Protestant reformers, accorded unprecedented leeway in new America. Here it has developed from humble but sturdy beginnings, has made advances in spite of aristocratic prejudices, has become nationalized, pan-Americanized, and internationalized.

Shortly before landing, the Pilgrim Fathers formulated a statement of the ideals they proposed to serve. While these beginnings of American ideals may be traced in their origins to English, French, and Dutch developments of thought, and even to the Grecian democracies, it is also significant that the "Mayflower" Compact was drawn up nearly thirty years before the adoption of the "Agreement of the People" in the time of Cromwell; that it was signed seventy years previous to the appearance of the "Treatises on Government" by John Locke, which

contained an argument in support of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; and that it antedated the *Contrat social* of Rousseau by 142 years.

The "Mayflower" Pilgrims agreed to unite in "a civil body politic." This organization of the people was to be a means, not an end; it was to enact such just and equal laws from time to time, "as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye general good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." It was an instrument in the hands of the people to be used for the benefit of this self-same people. It decreed that law, and not the arbitrary and capricious will of the king, should be the basis of government. The content and spirit of law was to be measured by "ye general good of ye Colonie," i. e., by public welfare.

Democracy in America has swung back and forth between abstract equality on one hand and practical fraternity on the other. According to the "Mayflower" covenant, the Pilgrim Fathers desired democracy chiefly for their own small group.¹ From a more or less intolerant, bigoted, and microcosmic desire for democracy for the members of a religious group to a world-must-be-made-safe-for-democracy ideal is a long, long journey. Nevertheless it is the distance which has been traversed in America between December 21, 1620, and April 2, 1917; it is the ground which has been covered between the days of the localized democracy of the Pilgrims and of the world-wide democracy of President Wilson.

¹The "Puritans" proper held an even more circumscribed view of democracy than the Separatist Puritans, or "Pilgrims."

The intervening decades have witnessed the vacillating but increasingly successful experiments in the United States to adapt and to interpret the principles of democracy in the deepening and enlarging spheres of individual, national, pan-American, and international activities.

By the close of the Revolutionary period, democracy had been given common currency in terms of political equality—equality of rights of individuals before the law. It had come to signify the supremacy of civil law, made by the people, over the rule of military authority, expressed autocratically. It meant the sovereignty of the people in contrast to the supremacy of kings, the free exercise of the individual intellect in matters of government without interference by arbitrary power, the founding of governmental authority on the consent of the governed and determined by the voice of the majority, and the protection of the fundamental needs of the individual—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These early principles culminated in the life-work of Thomas Jefferson, “the first prophet of American democracy.” He advocated democracy, through a jealous care of the right of election by the people; democracy, through absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority; democracy, through maintaining the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, reducing the latter to a well-disciplined militia; democracy, through rendering equal and exact justice (chiefly political) to all men of whatsoever state or persuasion, political or religious; democracy, through diffusing information

and arraigning all abuses at the bar of public reason.

In 1823, President James Monroe, acting in line with the previous declarations of John Quincy Adams and having the sympathetic support of the English statesman, George Canning, flung out a new challenge to the world when he asserted that not only the United States but Central and South American commonwealths were henceforth to be preserved inviolate for experiments in democracy. Under the protecting influence of the Stars and Stripes, democracy was placed on trial in both Americas—free from further intervention or colonization by the autocratic governments of the Old World. President Monroe pointed out that the political systems of the European powers were essentially different from government in America and that therefore “we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.” Further, we could not look upon any interposition for the purpose of oppressing the independent Central and South American democracies, “or controlling in any manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.”²

In those daring words, Europe was informed that henceforth the Americas were to be left free from European autocratic influence, in developing the spirit of democracy.

²James D. Richardson, (compiler), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II:218.

While this evolution is today far from a successful culmination, the United States has succeeded in maintaining effectively its political guardianship over democratic efforts in the sister American republics. Both Europe and Asia have cast envious eyes toward Central and South America. Even a war between Great Britain and the United States over boundary lines between Venezuela and British Guiana seemed imminent, after Great Britain had refused to submit the question to arbitration; but President Cleveland in clear, staunch defense of the Monroe Doctrine intimated his readiness to employ military force, and thereby sent a profound tremor of respect for the Monroe Doctrine throughout England, which caused her to reverse her decision and to decide to submit to arbitration. As a result, the Monroe Doctrine acquired a more real meaning than it had ever before possessed. Our defense of American democracies was thereby changed from a threat to action.

Through manipulation and intrigue in Mexico, Germany almost succeeded in 1917 in alienating that republic from pan-American loyalty. Through perfidy and secret machinations in the United States, Germany likewise was nearly successful in confounding democracy in our own republic. Fortunately, democracy in the United States has righted itself; and in the republics to our south, it has taken on new life because of the Monroe Doctrine, of Cleveland's brave support of that doctrine, and of the entry of the United States into the world war for democracy. The extension of the principle of democracy bids fair to continue, undisturbed by

European intervention, in the twenty-two American republics.

The days of Monroe were followed by increased suffering, due to the disturbing thorn of slavery in the side of democracy. The situation became acute under the piercing and prodding examinations of the abolitionists—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, John Greenleaf Whittier, Henry Ward Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, John Brown. These persons uttered a message which in composite form constituted virtually a second Declaration of Independence.

When the first Declaration was drafted, the white race alone had been included. The black race was then considered as representing a distinctly lower type. The idea did not occur that the Negro might be potentially on the same plane as the Caucasian and eligible to the same rights. Time, however, brought forth new conceptions. The black man was seen to be as human as the white man. The inconsistency of slavery in the land of democracy smote many exponents of democracy to silence and raised the voices of her most fearless champions in persistent protest.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill, the Dred Scot decision, the historic house-divided-against-itself speech of Lincoln at Springfield brought the main issue clearly before the nation. It was Lincoln who proclaimed that our democracy could not "endure permanently half slave and half free." The division over slavery finally rent the nation; but even at the darkest hours of the contest, Lincoln audaciously

announced that all persons held as slaves in the rebellious South were "then henceforth and forever free"; that their freedom would be recognized and maintained by the government and enforced by the army and navy; and that this act of emancipation was warranted by the Constitution—a new interpretation of the Constitution involving an extension of the concept of democracy.

Then came the memorable Gettysburg Speech, enshrining the Union dead in the flag of a new freedom which included Negro as well as Caucasian, re-defining a Union whose power to hold itself together was never again to be questioned, and basing democracy upon a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Thus, Lincoln not only created a new freedom and saved the Union, but gave the country a higher ideal of democracy.

In the decades following the close of the Civil War, the Westward Movement culminated. Days of material advancement and national prosperity came, halted briefly by the panic of 1873. Industrial and business organizations multiplied rapidly and grew in power and affluence. The effect upon democracy was tremendous and portentous. No less an American than Ralph Waldo Emerson in an address on "The Fortune of the Republic" in 1878, said:

"In this country with our practical understanding, there is, at present, a great sensualism, a headlong devotion to trade and to the conquest of the continent,—to each man as large a share of the same as he can carve for himself,—an extravagant con-

fidence in our talent and activity, which becomes, whilst successful, a scornful materialism. . . . The American marches with a careless swagger to the height of power, very heedless of his own liberty or of other peoples', in his reckless confidence that he can have all he wants, risking all the prized charters of the human race, bought with battles and revolutions and religion,—gambling them all away for a paltry, selfish gain."

By 1890, however, a new democratic conscience was beginning to develop. It was a conscience that opposed the evils of the new material prosperity and power; it manifested itself frequently in hate and attack. Muck-raking flourished—the predecessor of the social survey of today. Individuals, without a sense of solidarity, of brotherhood, and of social responsibility, but stirred by the joint declarations of muck-rakers, expressed themselves in angry opposition to the Beef Trust, the Oil Trust, the Steel Trust. The Prohibition movement, which was in the Carrie Nation stage, was typical of much of the social procedure of the times. Many leading Americans still manifested the characteristics of Buffalo Bill.

The apex of the emphasis upon materialistic power was reached in the closing years of the nineteenth century. At that time, also, came the climax of the imperialistic tendencies of the nation. The war with Spain caused American patriotism to become inflated, egotistic, spectacular, imperialistic. Many individuals still proclaimed the ideal, "My country, right or wrong." Representative Amer-

icans dreamed of the future United States as a vast world empire. Many persons believed that it was the manifest destiny of their country to release one small nation or group of peoples after another from political bondage and to add them to the possessions of the United States.

Materialism and imperialism were the most insidious foes of American democracy at the dawn of the twentieth century. In speaking of these dangers, Royal Dixon said that "the threatened dawn of plutocracy, the threatened wreck of the entire morale of the republic in graft, dishonesty, and money tyranny, led us to discover one sin after another until we were disgusted with ourselves as a nation."³ In this same connection, Elihu Root raised the question: "Have selfish living and factional quarreling obscured the spiritual vision of our country?" Mr. Dixon's comment upon this phase of American life is worthy of attention: "Let us concede the distinction that lies in speed, size, show, invention, adaptability, and ready cash; but let us admit that we have not kept these things in their place; that we have been prone to worship them, to place them above family honor, national honor, above church, creed, art, letters, music."⁴

The United States has passed safely through the perils of materialistic machinations and the dangers of imperialistic desires. After becoming president in 1901 Theodore Roosevelt defied the entrenched giants of political and economic power, inaugurated

³*Americanization*, pp. 32, 133.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 184.

the conservation movement,⁵ proceeded to upset established special privilege, and re-defined democracy in terms of "the square deal for everybody."

In taking a stand against autocracy, Roosevelt urged that the United States support unflinchingly the right "whenever the right is menaced by the might which backs wrong."⁶ With this doctrine, Roosevelt coupled a military preparedness interpretation of Americanism. The only way that the United States can oppose successfully the wrong which is urged forward by might, is to put over against it the right that is also supported by might. Instead of putting national safety first, Roosevelt stood for national honor and duty first.⁷

Roosevelt's idea of Americanism as stated in his Knights of Columbus Speech (1915) contains three elements: (1) the establishment of a common language—the English—for all Americans; (2) the increase of our national and social loyalty by the development of "a citizenship which acknowledges no flag except the flag of the United States and which emphatically repudiates all duality of intention or national unity"; and (3) "an intelligent and resolute effort for the removal of industrial and social unrest, an effort which shall aim equally at securing every man his rights and to make every man understand that unless he in good faith per-

⁵At the request of Gifford Pinchot.

⁶*Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, p. 55.

⁷Inaugural Address, March 4, 1905.

forms his duties he is not entitled to any rights at all."⁸

President Woodrow Wilson represents the tenets of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy. His party heritage gave promise that he would advance the cause of democracy. His most ardent admirers, however, did not suspect the degree to which he would go in extending the domain of popular rule. On April 2, 1917, before both Houses of Congress assembled together, he declared that "the world must be made safe for democracy." Nothing smaller than the *world* is hereafter to be the laboratory of democracy. "Our globe has shrunk too small for democratic and autocratic states to subsist together, nor can Ocean herself constrain them in separation."⁹

President Wilson, reading aright America's mind and speaking in line with America's developing conception of democracy, has bade defiance in his now classic phrase to the strongholds of political autocracy the world around. Monroe is out-Monroed. The conception of democracy that was held by the Pilgrim liberty-seekers was a doctrine applicable primarily to themselves alone. From that mustard seed, the plant has grown until its branches are now to protect all of earth's inhabitants. From democracy for one hundred persons to democracy for the

⁸It was in Roosevelt that H. G. Wells (*Future in America*, p. 253) found an epitome of America's strong and weak points. The first include (1) force, (2) sustained courage, (3) integrity, and (4) open intelligence; the latter embrace (1) undisciplined hastiness, (2) unfairness, (3) prejudices, and (4) frequent errors.

⁹H. B. Alexander, "Americanism," *New Republic*, January 5, 1918, p. 271.

seventeen hundred million people of the world—such is the unfolding of the conception of democracy in the minds and hearts of Americans.

The entrance of the United States into the European War has given rise to a renaissance of democracy and of the square deal that will shake down not only the thrones of political but of other types of autocracy as well. The analysis of American democracy is proceeding apace; several phases are assuming clear outlines.

(1) The best known type is political democracy, which regards political life as possessing two foci: one, the individual; the other, the nation-state. The latter exists to safeguard and to encourage the development of personality. The individual's liberty ends when it conflicts with the welfare of the nation-group. Political democracy views the nation-state as the totality of legalized relations instituted for the benefit of the citizenry. While it recognizes inherited inequality, it tries to guarantee that inherited equality shall be preserved in all the circumstances of life.

In the United States today, there is a conflict between a republican democracy and a democratic democracy. In these terms, there is no special reference to political parties. According to the theory of a republican democracy, individuals who are elected to office are specialists and are expected to vote as their judgment dictates. In a democratic democracy, the elected representatives are expected to represent the judgments of their constituents. The first-mentioned method includes the Aristotelian and

aristocratic concept of government by the best few individuals. The other procedure is purely democratic in principle and implies that the average citizen is able to express his independent judgment on all public questions and that he keeps his political representatives informed in regard to his beliefs on legislative questions. One method throws the actual determination of legislation into the hands of a temporarily aristocratic few, who will be tempted to act secretly and autocratically. The other *modus operandi* puts public decisions into the hands of the common people who may not have the education or the inclination to decide independently and regularly upon public problems, many of which are highly technical. The tendency in the United States is toward a dualistic use of these two forms of political procedure, whereby complex technical questions are left to the specialists, while broad, fundamental issues are referred to the common people for decision.

(2) Religious democracy has always been a fundamental principle of American life. It includes the right to worship as one's conscience and judgment dictate without compulsion from others or from the state. One person's religious views have equal standing with those of every other person. Religious groups, however, have often clung to undemocratic beliefs, attitudes, and methods of organization.¹⁰

¹⁰Cf. L. H. Hough, "The Preacher and the Forces of Democracy," *Meth. Review*, January-February, 1918.

(3) Ethical democracy in our country signifies that there is one right for all men everywhere, and that there is "one ultimate standard of righteousness for all the world."¹¹ In 1884, Lowell, the foremost American at that time, proclaimed Christ the first true ethical democrat who ever lived.¹² The wealthy and the poor, the distinguished and the unknown are tested in America at the bar of public opinion by the same high standards of right and wrong, that is, by the ethical standards set by Christianity.

(4) Personal democracy gives adequate opportunity for the development of all the individual and the social phases of personality. It involves an accurate evaluation of all of one's powers and a well-balanced, consistent expression of them. It is essential to the pursuit of happiness as found in the free self-expression of the socio-rational personality.

(5) Intellectual democracy represents the principle that "all men have it in them to respond to the ultimate intellectual meanings of life and that the best of culture should be made the possession of all the people."¹³ While it does not deny mental differences, and would not reduce all people to a level, it believes that all the permanently significant ideas can be brought within the reach of all potentially capable individuals. It holds that all individuals should be able to think independently and to make individual judgments upon the leading questions of the day. It declares that *all* the people

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Address at Birmingham, England, October 6, 1884.

¹³L. H. Hough, *loc. cit.*

should have access to the best and the most useful knowledge that is available.

The ideal of intellectual democracy in America is a nation of people, all of whom are well-grounded in the fundamental principles of individual and social living; broad in sympathies and vision; courageous yet kind; always achieving something for the weal of the race. To this end, the United States is officially spending \$500,000,000 annually, employing 500,000 teachers, educating 20,000,000 individuals and building and socializing the public school, the most democratic institution in America.

In an intellectual democracy, education *per se* gives no one a right to feel a superiority over his fellow citizens. It gives one a sane and kindly vision which impels him to help others to obtain the same educational advantages which he has enjoyed. It does not permit him to use his education to play "smart tricks" upon his fellow beings, to exploit the unsophisticated, or to parade his superiority before the public. It increases his sense of obligation to help solve public problems.

(6) Industrial democracy is based on "the organization of the forces of the world about human values and not about things." It is opposed to an aristocracy of wealth. It believes that a financial autocracy and a political autocracy are equally bad and that the former must follow the downfall of the latter. It declares that wealth is power—social power. The most vital principles of industrial democracy that are being worked out in America are as follows:

(a) Human values are more important than material values.

(b) Property must never be used so that it blights the lives of individuals.

(c) The ideal situation is not equality of possession, but equal right by labor to obtain food, air, clothing, and the physical amenities of life.

(d) A reputation for honest dealing, for giving a dollar's worth for a dollar, for permanently pleasing and not repeatedly cheating the customer, for paying the employee not as low wages as he will take but as much as he earns.

(7) Social democracy means the socialization of all of the opportunities of life. Conservation of life and health, democratization of education, socialization of the production and consumption of economic goods are the fundamental elements.¹⁴

Social democracy involves acting together. The development of personality is the goal, but this evolution must keep within the lines set by the common good. There will be classes, but no one class shall rule.¹⁵ There will be class divisions but no insurmountable barriers between them. There will be a kingdom, not of "kings," but of men. All the members of the group will share largely in the opportunities for developing the best personalities.¹⁶

Social democracy is well illustrated in a letter that has just come to hand from one of the wounded heroes of the Argonne. It is stated that in the

¹⁴Cf. W. Weyl, *The New Democracy*, p. 320.

¹⁵J. J. Roche, *Life of J. B. O'Reilly*, (quoted by W. M. Talbot, *Americanization*, p. 2).

¹⁶Cf. J. H. Tufts, *Our Democracy*, p. 268.

trainloads of soldier boys who have been speeding homeward across the plains of our country "there is no mention of the Mayflower, no hint of ancestor worship, no reference to antecedents, no questioning about present financial or social status. If a fellow is a good scout and a square shooter, he is at once admitted into the great fraternity."

(8) Spiritual democracy releases the highest spiritual potentialities of man. His individual and social life flourish where his spirit is free. America is beginning to take time to give her spiritual life its rightful place.

Out of suffering is born spiritual democracy. W. L. Stidger tells of a lad who went through the battle of Belleau Wood. He came out, but terribly wounded. His face was ugly to look upon. "I may look awful," he said, "but I'm a new man inside. What I saw out there in the woods made me different, somehow. I saw a friend stand by his machine-gun, with a whole platoon of Germans sweeping down on him, and he never flinched. He fired that old gun until every bullet was gone and his gun was red-hot. I was lying in the grass where I could see it all. I saw them bayonet him. He fought to the last against fifty men, but thank God, he died a man; he died an American. I lay there and cried to see them kill him, but every time I think of that fellow it makes me want to be more of a man. When I get back home I'm going to give my life to some kind of Christian service. I'm going to do it because I saw that man die so bravely. If

he can die like that, in spite of my face, I can live like a man."

These types of democracy are in process of development in the United States. It is safe to say that the complete ideal in no case has been attained, but the ideals as a class indicate the nature and direction of the strivings of the American people.

CHAPTER V

AMERICAN TRAITS: INTERNATIONALISM AND BROTHERHOOD

The element of internationalism in Americanism received its initial recognition by Washington and Jefferson, who agreed that America should advance her commercial interests throughout the world but politically should hold herself aloof from entangling alliances. In any transactions that might arise with foreign powers, she should deal honestly and in good faith. Her main interest in those early days was in national self-building.

Monroe added a new factor. He pointed out that our political aims and structure were different from the prevailing types in Europe at that time—and thus gave a somewhat different reason for American aloofness. He went further and defined a type of political protectorate for the United States to assume over the democracies to her south. She was to safeguard them against any encroachments by European autocracies. She was not to meddle in European situations, and in return, the European nations were to refrain from meddling with the affairs of any of the American republics.

This principle was invoked in 1845 and 1848 by Polk and in 1870 by Grant. In 1865-1866, it was used to cause the French to withdraw from Mexico. In 1895, Cleveland clothed the Monroe Doctrine

with new power and asserted that he would use our army and navy in its support if necessary. Great Britain reluctantly consented to respect our will in the Venezuela controversy.

In the administration of McKinley, another phase of our internationalism made itself manifest. Spain had long oppressed the Cubans. The situation was rapidly growing worse and the international conscience of the United States was slowly beginning to express itself, when the destruction of the "Maine" precipitated war. As a result, a weak people was freed from the tyranny of Spain. The Philippines were acquired and introduced to the principles of self-government.

Roosevelt contributed to our internationalism when after asserting that we have been forced into relations with the other nations of the earth, he proclaimed that "no weak nation that ever acts manfully and justly should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression."¹ As a strong nation we must not wrong others nor allow others to wrong us. We shall be right first and then keep our whole might ready to defend ourselves.

Ex-President Taft in his efforts in behalf of The League to Enforce Peace has represented the opinions of large numbers of Americans in regard to international ideals. The plan of the American League² supports a league of nations in which all

¹The Inaugural Address, March 4, 1905.

²Address of William H. Taft at Montreal, Canada, September 28, 1917.

agree: (1) that legal international controversies shall be heard and decided by a court; (2) that controversies not to be settled on principles of law shall be submitted to a commission of conciliation for recommendation of a settlement; (3) that the united forces of the nations of the League shall resist any nation which begins war before the quarrel has been submitted to one tribunal or the other, and has been decided. The plan is to enforce peace until after the peaceable procedure has taken place and the decision rendered. It is urged that the deliberation and the accompanying delay will prevent almost all wars. The American League has not wished to attempt too much for fear that the nations will be unwilling to curb their individual powers extensively.

The "treaty plan" of internationalism inaugurated by William J. Bryan proceeded on the basis that the United States should make treaties with all the nations of the civilized world to the effect that every dispute of every kind shall, before hostilities begin, be submitted to an international tribunal for investigation and report. The plan substituted treaties for a league and moral suasion for compulsion.

President Woodrow Wilson has stood for a League of Nations which has strong attractive characteristics. He has not stressed a league to enforce peace so much as a league which will attract all nations into it. These nations will then abide by the League's rules of order and of progress and thus secondarily they will guarantee the peace of the world. His internationalization of democracy

makes America a world factor in the struggle for democracy instead of a world force for imperial dominion. He has proclaimed America to be a spirit of unselfish good will among the nations of the world. He has responded to Emerson's call for men of original perception and action, "who can open their eyes wider than to a nationality,—namely, to considerations of benefit to the human race,—can act in the interest of civilization."³

To liberty for the individual, union for the nation, democracy within the nation, President Wilson has openly and forcefully declared for an organization of the friendship of the world. The United States will consider world problems no longer from a selfish national viewpoint, but from the standpoint of world welfare. The independence of the United States is not a selfish thing, for her own national use.⁴ A patriotic American is defined as a person who wants to share the liberty and rights he enjoys in America with the whole world, who wants his nation to keep its promises to other nations to its own hurt, and who is never prouder of the Stars and Stripes than when it means to other nations as well as to himself a symbol of hope and liberty.⁵ America will achieve her highest mission when all the world shall know that she puts human rights

³From "The Fortune of the Republic."

⁴Address at Independence Hall, July 4, 1914. Compare the statement of the President at the State Dinner in Buckingham Palace, December 27, 1918, when he said: "America does love freedom, and I believe that she loves freedom unselfishly."

⁵Address to the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., October 11, 1915.

above material and all other rights and "that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity."⁶ In speaking to recently nationalized citizens, President Wilson has given the paradoxical injunction, "not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity."⁷ America's cause is not confined to the American continent, but is nothing less than the cause of humanity itself.⁸ No American should feel any exhilaration in belonging to America, if he does not feel that she is "something more than a rich and powerful nation."⁹

In defining American ideals in terms of making the world safe for democracy and of organizing the friendship of the world, the President has pushed Americanism to its highest expression.¹⁰ From now on, the United States has no selfish national ends to serve. She desires no conquest and no dominion. She seeks no indemnities for herself and no material compensation for the sacrifices which she shall so freely make in fighting the battles of democracy. She is but "one of the champions of the rights of mankind."¹¹

Imperialistic machinations in behalf of the United States have been set at rest by President Wilson.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷Address at Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May 10, 1915.

⁸Address to the Daughters of the American Revolution, *ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰On January 3, 1919, while speaking in the Chamber of Deputies at Rome, President Wilson uttered a statement which should rank with the world's greatest principles when he declared that our task is "to organize the friendship of the world." This idea had been elaborated five days earlier on December 30, 1918, in an address in Free Trade Hall, Manchester, England.

¹¹Address to Congress, April 2, 1917.

He has publicly and officially stated that the United States does not seek to spread her ideals by first making political conquests, but that she has reversed this notorious policy which has been in vogue in the world from the days of Xerxes to Wilhelm II. Americanism today means that the United States is to proceed in the direction of world usefulness and brotherhood by sacrificing without stint or end to help any people anywhere in the fight of right against might and of democratic control against autocratic domination. The only empire to which she aspires is that which exists in the minds and hearts of grateful peoples. Furthermore, the lead that has been taken by the United States in announcing the policy of having no selfish national ends to serve will be followed by all self-respecting nations. No nation of standing will dare to fall far behind the example set by the United States in matters of international polity.

Internationalism and world brotherhood are synonymous; they include a willingness on the part of the nations to speak frankly to one another; they involve an agreement not to stand too much on national pride; they imply a desire to consider all issues fairly; they connote a world spirit of friendship; they embrace the wish to live together peaceably; they constitute the bases of a world social structure, or a League of Nations—such is the latest interpretation of Americanism by President Wilson. Internationalism as a phase of Americanism is still in an incipient stage. Its various forms have been briefly described in the foregoing para-

graphs. The final choice involves the exercise of common sense, hard thought, and a broad vision. The United States is called upon to decide whether (1) to form permanently defensive and offensive alliances with specific countries, (2) to co-operate temporarily in the future with this or that country or group of countries long enough to attain a specified worthy object, or (3) to take part in a League of Nations, or in some other type of world organization or world society,

It is almost certain, however, that our internationalism as far as it has been developed means that America shall lead the nations "in making human life safer, human endeavor loftier, human suffering less cruel, human toil more equitably rewarded, and human fraternity more real, more noble, and more sincere."¹² It means leading the world in a just organization of the nations that shall safeguard all the social values that are found in nationalism and at the same time protect the nations from the worst forces that exist in any of them or any combination of them.

From liberty-loving and self-reliant Americanism to a world-loving and international Americanism is a broad sweep. Both extremes must be preserved inviolate and made continually to swing around the solid core of a co-operative and democratic nation-state. Both extremes lead to fatal weaknesses. The first, by itself, tends towards anarchism, autocracy, or materialism. The latter, by itself, becomes fanciful, visionary, and impracticable. The two extremes

¹²D. J. Hill, *Americanism: What It Is*, p. 191.

have served to form with the inner core of Americanism a utilitarian idealism. Utility is almost an omnipresent standard in America. At times, it is true, we have paid a marked deference to material success. Americans have been commercial, however, rather than material in many of their activities. Behind the struggles for wealth have been sound hearts and clear minds. The overemphasis upon utilitarian tests has been disturbing but far from fatal. Sooner or later, whenever the crisis has come, the underlying idealism of the Americans has come to the surface with an alacrity and a strength that has set the nation right and surprised the world.

CHAPTER VI

THE RACIAL HISTORY OF AMERICANISM

It is proper to close Part I with a statement of the racial elements of Americanism. Such an account will fittingly introduce Part II in which it is proposed to present some of the cultural backgrounds of the leading racial groups which have migrated to America.

It may be asserted that originally there were no native races on the American continent. The human race appeared first on the Euro-Asiatic continent. At an early date, peoples of Mongolian types migrated to America either by way of Europe when Europe and America were connected by land, or by way of the Pacific Ocean—having drifted across—or, more probably, by way of Alaska when Asia and Alaska were connected by land. The original pioneers became the ancestors of the “mound-builders,” who in turn were probably the ancestors of the American Indians. The first inhabitants of the territory now known as the United States were the early ancestors of the Indians.

About 1000 A. D., daring representatives of the Scandinavian races became the second discoverers of America. They were not ready, or not able, to make settlements. After having been discovered by unknown Mongolians, and by Scandinavians, America

was discovered the third time by Italian and Spanish navigators under the leadership of Columbus. It was these voyagers who opened America to European advancement and civilization. In this connection the first settlements were made by Spanish colonists—the second racial group (after the Mongolian) to become established in America. Being southerners, they settled in Florida, New Mexico, and California. They founded the first and oldest European towns in the United States—St. Augustine, Florida (1598); Chamita, New Mexico (1598); and Santa Fe, New Mexico (1605).

The English were the third race to settle permanently within the present boundaries of our national domain. Their early settlements in 1607, 1620, 1630 laid the foundations of those determining influences which gave the United States its characteristic tendencies.

The French established trading posts in the Mississippi River region, following the explorations of La Salle, in 1782. This territory remained in French hands until 1803, the year of the Louisiana Purchase. The Huguenots, the Puritans of France, came to America in the seventeenth century, settling chiefly in South Carolina, Virginia, and New York.

The Hollanders set up trading posts along the Hudson River in the decade following the exploration in 1609 of that river and established a colony which came into the hands of the English in 1664.

In 1619, a few Negroes were brought to America by a Dutch trading-vessel. The traffic increased with the succeeding years. In 1790, the Negro

population of the country was 757,000, or 19 per cent of the entire population—a higher percentage than has since obtained. With the decreasing percentage, however, there has occurred a steady increase in absolute numbers until the race in this country now numbers 11,000,000.

The Swedes settled on the Delaware River in 1638, entered into conflicts with the Dutch, and finally became an English colony. This group represented the second Scandinavian movement to America. After the close of the Civil War the third, largest, and final Scandinavian migration began.

The Germans came from the Palatinate region in 1682 and the subsequent years at the behest of the agents of William Penn; Germantown was their chief settlement. The German migration, however, culminated in 1854 and 1882.

The Scotch-Irish migrated in the first half of the eighteenth century, and constituted the largest influx of any race to America in that century. They came chiefly to Philadelphia and Baltimore. They moved westward into the unsettled portions of Pennsylvania, crossed the mountains into Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and thence into the Middle West. Others of their numbers traversed the valleys into the Appalachian mountains and became the leading ancestors of the present-day southern mountaineers.

During the early years of the Republic, immigration averaged less than 10,000 per year. It is certain that not over 250,000 immigrants came to the

United States during the entire period between 1776 and 1820.

The first actual figures of immigration are for the year 1820. In that initial annual statement, the coming of 8,385 immigrants is recorded. The United Kingdom furnished 6,024 of the number; 968 came from Germany; 371, from France; and 139, from Spain. Some significant comparisons may be made between these figures and the tables for such a year as 1914 when over 1,218,000 immigrants arrived.

The first marked rise in immigration occurred in 1827 and 1828, following a commercial depression in England. In 1842, the number of immigrants reached 104,565—the first time that the 100,000 level had been attained. The year 1854 marks the culmination of a high tide which was not exceeded until nearly twenty years later. In that year, 427,853 immigrants arrived.

The leading causes of this large immigration were two-fold. The potato famine and the economic oppression in Ireland in 1846 and in the succeeding years caused a large Irish emigration. In 1851, 272,240 Irish are recorded as coming to the United States. This number of Irish immigrants has not been equaled in any single year since. The other cause of increased immigration to the United States was the political revolutions in the German provinces which began in 1848. In 1854, 215,009 Germans came, a number that has been exceeded in a single year but once, namely, in 1882. In 1854, over 87 per cent of the total immigration came from the two sources, Irish and German.

Immigration reached a low point in 1862, shortly after the beginning of the Civil War. Up to 1850, immigrants came to the United States in sailing vessels. As late as 1864, the majority were still coming in sailing vessels, but in 1865 the majority migrated in steamships. With the change from sailing vessels to steamships as means of transporting immigrants, American-owned ships lost first place in carrying immigrants.

In 1873, a total of 459,803 immigrants landed. The completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, the opening up of the West, and the returning prosperity after the war, were the causes of the influx which reached its height in 1873. It was at this time that the immigration of the Scandinavians began in a marked fashion. Then came the panic of 1873 which resulted in decreased immigration.

In 1882, the immigration figures mounted higher than ever—to 788,992. A part of this increase must be ascribed to the renewed persecutions of the Hebrews in Russia in 1882. As a result, large numbers of Hebrews migrated to the United States. Immigration from Russia was nearly four times as great in 1882 as in the preceding year. Scandinavian immigration shows a considerable increase at this time. The development of Minnesota, the Dakotas, and the adjoining states was the strong attraction to the Scandinavians. An appeal upon similar grounds brought over many thousands of German immigrants. German immigration reached its greatest height in 1882.

The year 1882 is remarkable in immigration history for many other reasons. It marks a shifting in the sources of immigration: (a) from western Europe to eastern and southern Europe; (b) from countries with representative institutions and popular governments to countries under the control of absolute monarchs; (c) from lands where education was more or less universal to lands where illiteracy prevailed; (d) from races chiefly Teutonic to races chiefly Italic, Slavic, and Semitic; and (e) from Protestant sources to Catholic sources. The year also marks the passage of the first Chinese Exclusion Act and the adoption of the first inclusive federal immigration law.

After 1882, the number of immigrants again diminished and reached the low point of 334,203 in 1886. The numbers increased to the year 1893, but decreased with the industrial depression of 1894 to 1898. The numbers fell to 229,299 in 1898. Then came returning prosperity with a rise in immigration that exceeded the million mark for the first time in the history of the country in 1905, when 1,026,499 immigrants arrived. The increase continued and in 1907 the unprecedented number of 1,285,349 immigrants came to the United States. The figures exceeded a million again in 1910, 1913, and 1914. The figures for 1915 fell to about 340,000 as a result of the European War, and to 110,000 in 1918 following the entry of the United States into the war.

A study of the immigration statistics for a more or less typical year such as 1914 shows noteworthy

facts. It should be stated that the immigration figures apply to the fiscal year ending June 30th of the given year and not to the calendar year. The "high" months for immigration are the spring and autumn months. January and the midsummer months are the "low" months.

In 1914 when 1,218,480 immigrants were recorded, over 250,000 immigrants came from each of three countries, namely, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. The other European countries, offered no close competition; the next in numerical order were England, Greece, and Germany—each sending about the same number, 35,000. From the standpoint of races, as distinguished from the countries from which the immigrants come, the Italians ranked first (296,414); the Hebrews, second (138,051); the Poles, third (122,657); the Germans, fourth (79,871); and the English, fifth (51,746).

The intended future residence by states of the aliens who were admitted shows that over 600,000 went to three states—New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. In other words, the great current of immigration was pouring into the already overcrowded centers of population. The figures concerning the place of intended future residence in the United States speak forcefully of the need of distribution measures. In 1914 alone, 344,663 aliens went to New York, chiefly New York City.

In 1914, the aliens admitted were divided between the two sexes in the proportion of about two to one, nearly 800,000 being males. The influx of this over-proportion of males, year by year, cannot have

other than serious social results. In regard to ages, it is to be noted that nearly 1,000,000 aliens of the 1,218,480 were between the ages of 14 and 44. Other things being equal, it is a great asset to the country that such a high percentage of immigrants belongs to the productive years of life.

It is stated that in a normal year, more alien immigrants in the strict meaning of the term are admitted to the United States than are admitted to all other countries of the world combined. During the years immediately preceding 1914, it appears that more persons migrated from the United States for the purpose of residing in other countries than migrated from any other nation, not excepting Italy, Austria-Hungary, or Russia. Instead of hard times tending to cause the immigrants to go west as formerly, hundreds of thousands have returned to their European habitations.

In 1914, 303,338 aliens residing in the United States left this country with the intention of making their permanent residence elsewhere. Thus the figures of immigration which are ordinarily given do not in reality indicate the annual gain in population as a result of immigration. The aliens who emigrate belong primarily to the Italian, Polish, Magyar, Russian, and Croatian races. The North European races and the Hebrews rank low in the emigration figures.

The alien in this country has been much criticized for sending and carrying back to Europe his savings which in the total amounts to many millions of dollars annually. But to send or to carry savings to

the old country cannot be considered unjust to the United States. For every dollar sent or carried to Europe, more than a dollar's worth of productive labor has been expended in the United States by the immigrant. It is true, however, that if that dollar were invested in this country, the United States would have not only the results of productive labor but also the benefits to be gained from the use of the capital derived from the immigrant's savings. This country can afford to offer inducements whereby the immigrant will change his mental attitude and will prefer to make his investments here.

The time is coming (if it has not already arrived), however, when the United States cannot admit the immigrant who comes simply to make money and then to return home. If he is to be admitted, he must come as a home-seeker and a future citizen as well as a laborer. Perhaps the time has come when we can admit only a few hundred thousand selected immigrants per year. We reached the point years ago where we could no longer admit freely all who desired to come. We are unable to remain an asylum for the oppressed of other races and nations. Our own free land is exhausted, our industrial opportunities do not prevent us from facing the serious problems of unemployment from time to time, our poor in increasing numbers are being recruited from our own native-born population—as a result of our own economic and social maladjustments. It is our plain duty and opportunity to build up our economic and social order on scientific principles and to advance the Americaniza-

tion of the immigrants who are already in the country. When our socio-economic processes operate soundly and when our Americanization program reaches throughout the nation, we shall be able again to invite immigration.

PART TWO

THE NATIVE-BORN AND AMERICAN TRAITS

CHAPTER VII

THE AVERAGE AMERICAN

The term "average American" is here used to include all native-born Americans except three distinct native groups, viz., the American Indians, the Negroes, and the Appalachian mountaineers. Average Americans are the persons to whom one would ordinarily say an Americanization program does not apply. At first thought it would seem that normal Americans are already Americanized, and that Americanization should start from them, not with them. Americanization, on the other hand, is the process of adopting the principles of Americanism, and all native-born, as well as the foreign-born, must experience this process, which requires time and patient learning. Some of the foreign-born citizens have reached a higher point on the scale of Americanism than some native citizens. Moreover, not all normal Americans understand and live the principles of Americanism to an equal degree.

Americans vary in type from the highly loyal, national-minded, socialized person to the mean wretch who preys upon his kind and society, or to the gilded "gentleman" who moves in the best circles, but at heart is a moral reprobate, or a profiteer. Every average native is moving either upward or downward on the graded scale of Americanism. Some persons are improving the quality of our national life; others are degrading our precious standards. All Americans can be truer Americans.

1. Americans must lead the way sincerely, nobly, and democratically if others are to follow. If the American Indians are to become enthusiastic in their loyalty to the United States, they must not be allowed to suffer from economic exploitation, or from short-sighted Americanism; they must get their conception of American standards from large-hearted, broad-minded American leaders. If American Negroes, who compose one-tenth of our armies abroad and at home, and of our total population, are to become a strong link in our national chain, they must not get their Americanism through lynch procedure and rabid race prejudice, but from Americans who understand fully the problems of racial assimilation. If the Appalachian mountaineers are to come forth from their eighteenth century life into twentieth century Americanism, the invitation must not come tardily in the wake of the blunt, crushing penetrations of commercialism, but through the sympathetic and painstaking efforts of public educators. If the European alien within our gates is to contribute his life and ideals to the melting-pot, he must

be protected from unscrupulous "bosses," agents, "padrones," soap-box orators, and be given at the work-bench, in the street-car, and everywhere a daily interpretation of an Americanism ringing with the principles of liberty, union, democracy, and brotherhood. If the Asiatic immigrant is to be inducted into the body politic, the leaders in charge must not be narrow-minded American "patrioteers," but large-gauge, world-visioned American patriots. Nothing on the part of Americans but a consistent day-by-day attitude begotten of love will so effect the unAmerican native or alien that he will naturally and willingly give up his former life, break home ties if necessary, and assume the responsibilities of whole-hearted citizenship in our democracy.

Attorney George L. Bell of the State Commission of Immigration and Housing of California reports, by way of illustration of unfortunate American practices, a colonization scheme in the Sacramento Valley. The sales agents made a special effort to induce immigrants to purchase land in lots of from twenty to thirty acres. The value of the land was represented in advertisements and by oral statements in the most glowing terms. Exaggeration and misrepresentation were common. As a result, "150 families, mostly immigrants, were induced to pay from \$100 to \$150 an acre for this land. Three years of fruitless labor went by, life-savings were lost, and worst of all, confidence in America was shattered." Upon investigation, it was found that the land was "honeycombed with hardpan." The soil experts of the University of California are re-

ported by Attorney Bell as finding that, at the most, the land was worth only from \$15 to \$20 an acre, and that no one could possibly make a living on these twenty or thirty acre lots. Mr. Bell observes:

"This is only one of some 500 land fraud cases that have been handled by the State Immigration Commission. It shows that we exploit immigrants even in their attempt to get back to the land—the place where many wise students of the problem¹ say they must be, before our immigrant problem is solved."

Another type of traditional American attitude, which must be changed, is found in the experiences of a certain California mining company.

"The manager began to notice a restlessness among the 5000 South Austrian employes. They were Croatians but he did not know that. The unrest grew. He could discover no real cause for it and began to fear real trouble. He thought the I. W. W. had been at work somehow and he sent for the United States marshal and asked that help be ready on call. The Immigration Commission offices up in San Francisco heard of the stir, and wired to wait, for they would send down an interpreter who spoke the language of the men. The interpreter arrived and announced that he intended to live among the men and find out just what all the noise was about. The company objected on the ground that it was dangerous and that his life wouldn't be

¹"Americanization as a Necessity to National Defense," pamphlet published by the California State Commission on Immigration and Housing, no date.

worth a cent. He answered, 'But you forget that these are my own people, and I understand them.' He found a bunk in a lodging house. At the end of the second day he reported to the company that the row was the result of a feverish debate, in which the whole camp was involved, as to where the new capitol for the new republic of Jugo-Slavia should be located! The management said, 'What we needed was not the United States marshal to keep order, but an interpreter to help us understand the men'.²

2. Additional democratization of Americans is necessary because so many Americans misunderstand, take a snobbish attitude toward, or look down upon the foreigners. We do not realize that these same foreigners see our faults and look down upon us because of certain of our ways. The situation is explained by the statement that the average American thinks of the immigrant in terms of a laborer and the average immigrant thinks of the American in terms of a "boss." The truth of the matter is that the immigrant possesses countless good qualities which the American does not suspect and the American has ideals and traits of which the immigrant personally does not learn. President Wilson struck the needed key-note when he said: "No amount of dwelling upon the idea of liberty and of justice will accomplish the object we have in view, unless we ourselves illustrate the idea of justice and of liberty."³

²National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of, 1918, Kansas City, pp. 449, 450.

³Address at the Citizenship Convention, Washington, D. C., July 13, 1916.

We are slow to study and to comprehend the full meaning of democracy. As a nation, we are democratic; but as James Russell Lowell said, "Few people take the trouble of trying to find out what democracy really is."⁴ Even many loyal Americans have thought it fitting to reverse the President's dictum and declare that "democracy must be made safe for the world." Other Americans have questioned the merits of democracy in time of a national emergency such as war. All such doubters need to remember that the war between the United States and Germany was one between an imperfect democracy and a highly perfected autocracy. The latter had been consciously and purposely building up its system for centuries; the former began only in recent years to analyze its national purposes and to perfect itself on the basis of those purposes.⁵ Americanizing average Americans means, in part, that they shall analyze democracy and build up a purposeful nation on that basis.

The question has been raised by our diplomat and historian, David Jayne Hill, whether we have made our land a democracy in our laws and in our administration of them.⁶ "We have concentrated our attention upon our material conduct until we have been hypnotized by it."⁷ We need to re-examine our Americanism. Americanization itself means a process of self-examination by native Americans in regard to

⁴Address at Birmingham, England, October 6, 1884.

⁵Cf. R. Dixon, *Americanization*, pp. 44ff.

⁶*Americanism: What It Is*, p. 78.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 205.

the principles which they profess, according to President Wilson.⁸ As Americans, we are asked by the President, to purify and re-dedicate our declarations of democracy. We need to see clearly "where we are adhering to and where we are departing from just and equal democratic laws."⁹

3. In the normal times of peace, many Americans have become notorious for taking little interest in their government and in public welfare, sometimes through sectionalism, and sometimes through thoughtlessness and unconscious selfishness. Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch of Greenwich House, New York City, cites the example of a New Englander who is first a New Englander and only very secondarily a citizen of the United States.¹⁰ Mrs. Simkhovitch believes that the colonial hyphenated American has perhaps as little understanding of Americanism as has a member of any other hyphenated group; and in her work on the East Side, she has come to believe, also, that the average immigrant is a more ardent patriot, even under adverse conditions than the plain American of colonial stock.¹¹

† Because of our lack of interest in governmental matters, unworthy politicians have prospered and true statesmen have been unjustly caricatured. The chief evil in this country was pronounced by Mr. Roosevelt to be the lack of sufficiently general appreciation of the responsibility of citizenship.¹² Con-

⁸Address at Citizenship Convention, *op. cit.*

⁹D. J. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁰*The City Worker's World in America*, p. 188.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 191.

¹²*Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, p. 104.

sequently, a whole brood of evils have hatched. As enumerated by Mr. Roosevelt, these are: (1) unfair business methods, (2) the misused power of capital, (3) the unjustified activities of labor, (4) "pork-barrel" legislation, and (5) graft among powerful politicians.¹³

When the United States declared war in 1917, there were undoubtedly many native Americans who thought of the war, not as an opportunity to serve the country or the cause of democracy, but who asked themselves, "How can I better myself economically?" or "How can I personally gain something out of the war spirit?" In defiance of patriotic needs, profiteering spread its ugly tentacles, and labor strikes and "direct action" were boldly advocated. Too often the aim has been: What can I get out of the government? Too rarely has the question been raised: What can I do for my country?

Americanization implies a development of steadfast interest on the part of the American in his political representatives. It means that public office must be given an air of dignity in the eyes of both the native-born and the foreign-born. The conception of public office in America according to our kindly critic, Mr. James Bryce, falls below its true worth and dignity.¹⁴ The average voter frequently neglects to cast the ballot. He rarely keeps his legislative representatives informed as to his belief on important issues, unless he is the votary of a "special interest," when he importunes too much, urging the support

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, Chap. XCVIII.

of given measures, which may be directly opposed to public welfare.

We are prone to heap abuse upon public officials—even chief executives—especially if they belong to a political party different from our own. Extreme partisanship undermines Americanism. Some newspaper cartoons of our officials crush out respect for the incumbents, for the offices, and even for the government itself in the eyes of both citizens and aliens.

4. Americanization of average Americans involves more unification than we now have in matters of race, ideals, standards of democracy. We do not yet have a definite American race; we are still racially diversified, speaking many languages and harboring a large variety of racial customs. In our thinking on national and world issues, we are heterogeneous. The long, cold winters of North Dakota produce different attitudes from those stimulated in the humid regions of South Carolina. Accumulations of private wealth strengthened by an inheritance system are responsible for a gulf between the capitalistic and the laboring classes so wide that when either group speaks the other is likely to misunderstand. Americanization is a process which will build up a common basis of understanding for conservatives and liberals, and for the orthodox and dissenters in all phases of our national life.

5. Another need for the Americanization of average Americans is found in our lack of conservation of national resources. The reckless cutting down of the best timber in magnificent forests and the wholesale burning of natural gas in order to ap-

propriate the underlying oils, have been stopped to a large degree, but the wearing out of adolescents in mills, a needless waste of adults in hazardous occupations, tremendous expenditures of money and energy for fashion-luxuries go on. In 1917, we were manufacturing as many as 850 styles of shoes. In 1913, we spent more money for "sodas" and ice cream than in support of the church; twice as much money for tobacco, and five times as much money for liquor as for the church.¹⁵ Note the following headlines in newspapers as illustrations of the current need for conservation: "Mrs. H—— wears \$35,000 coat," "Banquet given in honor of Monkey," "Half Million Dollars in Jewels on Mrs. A—— at Ball," "Bequeaths Valuable Property to Pet Bulldog."

The immigrant is astounded at the reckless expenditures in America. Paralyzed, he beholds an American youth nonchalantly pull a ten dollar bill from his vest pocket and toss it on the counter in paying for a five-cent package of chewing gum. The immigrant is more thrifty than the native-born. In the years preceding the European War, the immigrant was saving and sending to Europe hundreds of millions of dollars annually—savings from meagre wages. Present-day Americans need to return to the principles of thrift that were taught by Franklin.

6. Americanization of Americans must provide for increased emphasis upon quality and thoroughness, and decreased stress upon quantity and speed.

¹⁵Compare the statement made as recently as 1918 by Royal Dixon in his book on *Americanization* (p. 35) that Americanism has been confounded by the existence of every conceivable kind of abuse of human liberties.

Dispatch and bigness and noise were not always American idols; in recent decades, these tendencies have developed. During the visit of the writer to the automobile section at the San Francisco Exposition, the salesmen of almost all the best automobiles were only moderately busy or else were lounging about. At one side of the building, however, there was considerable commotion and a large crowd of people. There was a slowly moving long platform upon one end of which automobile parts were being thrown, and at the other end of which every eight minutes a chauffeur jumped into a fully assembled automobile, gave a "honk, honk," and amid the plaudits of the onlookers, drove merrily out of the building, and disappeared from view. Unfortunately, not all speed in America has in it the qualitative advantages for the common people that is represented in the rapid-fire manufacture of Ford motor cars.

Unworthy forms of speed are illustrated by the get-rich-quick schemes of the hour, by the neurasthenic chase after new fashions, by the educational curricula for giving students a smattering of knowledge in several vital fields simultaneously, by the kaleidoscopic dash via automobile to snatch a few hours of nerve-wrecking amusement at a pleasure resort.

In play as well as in work American speed is common. We have developed in recent years the unfortunate habit of rushing at thirty miles an hour to places of recreation and amusement, trying one artificial and excitement-dealing device after another in

rapid succession, and then dashing for home at thirty-five miles, arriving there more tired than when we started. Such habits preclude the possibilities of securing natural and needed relaxation and recreation from one's leisure hours.

The deification of bigness in American business life is presented by Booth Tarkington in *The Turmoil*. Herein is depicted a character to whom bigness alone is the source of happiness. Bigness, however, is often developed at the expense of human welfare—this is the indirect theme of the story. As Americans we are prone to worship the tallest skyscrapers, the largest bank-accounts, the fastest base-runners.

With this bigness and speed there is frequently the strident accompaniment of noise. Fortunately, however, we have reacted against mere noise as a means of celebrating the Fourth of July. Nevertheless temporary recidivism expressed itself on November 11th, 1918, the day of the signing of the armistice. The people did not have the advantage which comes from organization; they acted spontaneously. Spontaneity, however, is supposed to reveal real attitudes. At any rate, the most striking phase of the celebration was the noise, the tin-can noise, the raucous noise of cacophonous, competitive voices. Our high appraisal of virile morality and courageous patriotism is offset in part by a weakness for size, speed, and noise. If America is to progress, she must return to her pristine emphasis upon quality and quietness. Mere bigness, rapidity, and loudness in themselves lead to degeneration.

If America is to make a strong appeal to the immigrant, quality and thoroughness must be continuously enthroned. The incoming immigrant cannot understand the rapid pace in America. He fails to grasp the tenor of the statement: "Time is money." In his previous habitat, time had never been commercialized. Upon arrival in this country he moves leisurely; his mind likewise jogs along. Then he becomes inoculated with the germ of American "hustle," and enters upon the asthenic pace.

On arrival, the newcomer to our land is dazzled by the splendor of America. But as he proceeds in a jangling street-car through narrow streets and past dingy buildings to the East Side in New York and takes up his abode in a six-story dumb-bell type of tenement, and begins to sell cabbages from a pushcart, he awakens from his bewilderment and asks the meaning of it all. He is at a loss to explain the juxtaposition of illimitable wealth and grievous misfortune. He cannot adjust his mind to the co-existence of elegant mansions and the dark caves, *sans* sunshine, which are called tenements.¹⁶ He wants to know if there isn't a worm at the heart of it all. He is amazed that generous America is so callous in the presence of so much revolting misery.

7. Another native tendency which real Americanism must counteract is the decreasing influence of the home. America developed and grew apace out of a sound and not infrequently austere home

¹⁶The reader will find in *An American in the Making* by M. E. Ravage, a refreshing and good-natured presentation of the reactions of the immigrant to various American methods.

life. The child felt the disciplining hand of parent and developed a respect for fundamental virtues. Today persuasion has been substituted for compulsion, but the persuading often degenerates into supplicating and importuning. As a result parental discipline is breaking and consideration of the wishes of elders is being ignored. Immigrant parents suffer unspeakable chagrin because of the disrespectful attitude of their children who are learning their first lessons in American manners. A generation is rising in our large cities without proper ballast.

Decreasing respect for the sanctities of marriage and an increasing divorce rate are deleterious tendencies. When marriage is considered merely as a civil contract to be made or broken at will, a nation is in greater peril than if an armed force were at its gates.

The increasing homelessness of Americans is startling in the extreme. In an average American city an average family cannot afford a home. It is cheaper to rent than to own. The larger the city the less feasible is home ownership. We are already upon times in new America when the majority of our urban residents are homeless—in the sense of being unable to live in homes which they own or for which they are paying. The situation is pathetic in regard to immigrants who look toward free America for homes. The percentage of foreign-born wage-earners in our industrial cities who are home-owners is twice as great as the percentage of the native-born in this class. It is a sad fact that the native-born have given up the hope, while the

foreign-born are trying against insuperable odds to acquire a home and to cultivate the sense of ownership. Surely we do not want to make of America a nation of lordly palaces with servant races begging for floor-space on which to "pitch their gypsy tents."

For the well-to-do American, apartment-house life with a minimum of home life and a maximum of indulgent pleasures is becoming a widespread movement. Children mingle in stairways and alleys, or walk or run the streets without maternal supervision. Idle, unsupervised hours lead to indifference, delinquency, recklessness. All these proclivities are undermining the home as an American institution. Any nation which would survive must preserve a sound family life.

8. The twentieth century in America has seen not only a sloughing off of outworn religious forms, but an open disregard for the church and the sanctities of religion. Fundamental American ideals, however, have always included the religious element. It was the Pilgrim Fathers who said that they had undertaken the voyage to America "for ye glory of God and advancement of ye Christian faith." It was from the Old Testament that the inscription was taken for the Liberty Bell. It was Washington who held that religion is an indispensable support to political prosperity and that patriotism is in vain if it subvert this great pillar of human happiness; that the security for life, reputation, property is nowhere to be found if the sense of religious obligation be cut off; and that it is doubtful if even morality can be maintained without religion. It was Lin-

coln who declared that "this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom." It was President Wilson who in setting the nation at war against autocracy and for democracy asserted: "God helping her, she can do no other."

Colossal efforts are being put forth by the various religious bodies. The Protestants are awake and pushing forward their work but have not yet succeeded in delivering a religious message in a way that wins the immigrants of the last thirty years in large numbers. The Roman Catholic Church has found the nature of its organization changing and weakened in unexpected ways. Many of its members, such as the Czecho-Slovaks, have broken away in large numbers and formed free-thinking societies. The effect of America upon the child of the orthodox Jew is well-known. America frequently de-Judaizes the Jew without Christianizing him. The appeal of socialism to him is oftentimes greater than that of Christianity.

In spite of surface drifts, the American is fundamentally religious at heart. Even beneath the crude exterior of the illiterate immigrant there are dynamic religious impulses. Americanization means a purifying and socializing of the religious beliefs of native Americans; it also connotes a wholesome, constructive, and broad-minded appeal to the religious disposition of the immigrant, who will respond and contribute mightily to the spiritual nature of America.

In conclusion, Americanization of average Americans involves the rebirth of all our fundamental vir-

tues. Average Americans must become pace-setters of all that is good and true and that is civically and socially dynamic in America's vision. The immigrant is more than ready to contribute his share in this process.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

In the United States, today, there are nearly 300,000 Indians, who represent a race once in possession of America. They are more nearly Simon-pure American than any race in our country. But what has been the history of their contact with our Americanism?

The English colonists, according to A. B. Hart, sought to make slaves of the Indians.¹ But the red man could not understand slavery—his pride forbade. Conquest, extermination, and racial death, therefore, became his sad fate.² The Indian lived in the pretended nobility of his origin.³ He loved his out-of-door hunting life as the distinguishing trait of his race; he had no desire to give up his standards for what he considered the unsatisfactory status of civilization. He despised the "paleface" and scorned a race which in his judgment had succumbed to the monotonous and tedious discipline of labor. He felt "an unsurmountable disgust for the methods the Europeans used in attaining their superiority."⁴

¹*National Ideals Historically Traced*, p. 48.

²*Ibid.*

³A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I:340ff.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 349.

The psychical and social differences between the red and the white man were so great that mutual misunderstandings continually arose. The Indian disdained to make the gigantic leap from Indianism to Europeanism; he honestly doubted its worthwhileness. The newcomers, on the other hand, failing to appreciate the problems of raising a people of hunting proclivities to the markedly different plane of civilization, alienated the good will of the Indian. In its turn, the Indian's brutal method of warfare aroused the hatred of Americans. The Indians lost. They withdrew, following the trails of the wild animals which had made the chase an Indian institution. Exhausted by famine, struggling to keep up a desultory warfare, the Indian retreated over the hills and across the plains. By 1818, "the currents of civilization had flowed around the Indian tribes, leaving them on detached reservations."⁵

The Indians were nomadic, without a knowledge of agriculture. When they endeavored to imitate the Americans and tilled the soil, they were unable to succeed in the contest with their trained American competitors.⁶ Unskilled in agriculture, and lacking the encouragement of sympathetic instructors in the fields, they met discouragement and defeat in this their chief attempt to copy the ways of civilized man.

Until recent decades the attitude of our government toward the Indian failed to measure up to the standard set by Washington, who said: "We are more enlightened and more powerful than the Indian

⁵Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁶Cf. de Tocqueville, *op. cit.*, I:352.

nations; we are therefore bound in honor to treat them with generosity."⁷ In commenting in 1842 upon this pronouncement, de Tocqueville, pointed out that this virtuous and high-minded policy had not been followed, and declared that "the rapacity of the settlers is usually backed by the rapacity of the government."⁸ While he charged the Federal Government with treating the Indians "with less cupidity and rigor" than did the individual settler, yet he held that the policies of both the Federal and state governments were alike "destitute of good faith."⁹ The states obliged the Indians to retreat, and the Federal government through its promises and resources, facilitated that retirement.¹⁰ For decades the effects of European civilization and the methods of the newcomers instead of gently raising the Indians to a civilized level made them more disorderly and less civilized than they were before.¹¹ Increasing friction between the races reached its height in the nineteenth century and involved enormous losses in men and money. By the year 1866, our government had spent \$500,000,000 in fighting the Indian.¹²

In Grant's Administration, the military methods gave way to the assimilative program; "the peace policy" was inaugurated. The effective introduction

⁷Washington's deep concern that complete justice be done the Indian may be seen in each of his annual messages to Congress.

⁸*Ibid.*, I:355.

⁹*Ibid.*, I:357.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, I:340.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²F. A. McKenzie, "The Assimilation of the American Indian," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XIX:763.

of the new and constructive program is largely due to the good judgment and foresight of the first Board of Indian Commissioners, who believed that through the living together of the two races assimilation would result.¹⁸ The Indian wars ended; Indian education began.

The intention of the government to act fairly toward the Indian has assumed definite form; large sums of money have been appropriated and used—to the extent of \$4,000,000 annually for Indian education and related work. Individual holdings of land have been granted, with citizenship an accompaniment of such holdings. Churches and privately organized associations have become increasingly active.

What is the present status of the American Indian in regard to the processes of assimilation and Americanization? Despite the changed policy of our government, the Indian as a race is not being Americanized. To a large extent the Indians have been settled on poor farm lands in the arid belts. They live under the fear that the reservation rights will be taken away and the reservations thrown open to settlement by white people. When they hear the words,

My country 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing:
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 764.

they grow sad and weep together. It suggests the songs of their own free days.¹⁴ They, too, love life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The citizenship status of the Indian has been uncertain, for he has been granted citizenship rights in one state and denied them in another, even though he has possessed the same capabilities and degree of development in both states.¹⁵ His property rights have been unsatisfactorily defined. A limited property status has been granted the Indian since the days of Helen Hunt Jackson who wrote: "The Indian is the only human being within our territory who has no individual right in the soil."¹⁶ George Wharton James is authority for the statement that the treaties of California euchred the Indians out of their lands,¹⁷ and that the evictions of the Indians were far worse than the evictions of the Irish in Ireland.¹⁸ It has been pointed out by Mr. James that no native Indian can file upon any public land in California, while foreigners may do so after taking out their first papers, and that there are, for example, several thousand homeless Indians in California who need small homesteads and cabins from which they cannot be evicted.

Our education of the Indian has not met his needs. His children who have gone away from home to be educated find that they cannot return and make use of their knowledge of highly civilized methods; the

¹⁴S. K. Humphrey, *The Indian Dispossessed*, p. 8.

¹⁵McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 766.

¹⁶*A Century of Dishonor*, p. VI.

¹⁷From an unpublished lecture.

¹⁸The description of the evictions in *Ramona* are pronounced true.

hiatus is too great. They have been educated away from their parents.¹⁹ As a class they must remain away; or if they return, they must fall back into the old ways. Education must be carried on in the Indian communities themselves and whole families gradually and patiently instructed in rising from a hunting stage to an agricultural level of civilization. Race leadership must be fostered.

Little attempt has been made to give the Indian an opportunity to contribute his best qualities to present-day Americanism. These characteristics may be briefly cited. He has the highest type of physical courage, inherited physique, and endurance to contribute to our current American life.

He possesses the gift of silence. To him, silence is the sign of a perfect equilibrium; and indicates absolute poise of body, mind, and spirit.²⁰ He is a Stoic in the face of great danger.

The Indian is a lover of the out-of-doors. He represents a style of simple living to which modern Americans are trying to return in their emphasis upon living and sleeping in the open.

He possesses an unassailable sense of personal liberty and love of justice. He has a bold and aspiring spirit, like that of his emblem, the American eagle, which we have borrowed.²¹ He is brave, fearless, and true to his plighted faith.²²

¹⁹Every individual when he returns to live in his former habitat feels the strength of this tendency.

²⁰C. A. Eastman, *The Soul of the Indian*, p. 89.

²¹Eastman, *The Indian Today*, p. 168.

²²Cf. H. B. Whipple in Preface of H. H. Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor*.

The Indian is noted for his generosity. He sets no price upon his property or labor, according to Charles A. Eastman,²³ and his generosity is only limited by his strength and ability. In every public ceremony, public giving is a part. His religion forbade the enjoyment of luxury. "Let neither cold, hunger, nor pain, nor the fear of them; neither the bristling teeth of danger, nor the very jaws of death itself, prevent you from doing a good deed," said an old chief to a scout who was seeking game to relieve a starving people.²⁴ To the Indian, he is wealthiest who gives most; with us, who keeps most.²⁵ To the Indian, "Land is as free as the water he drinks; proprietorship continues only so long as the land is tilled or otherwise in use."²⁶

The Indian has given us the names of four of the five Great Lakes, of countless townships and counties, and of one-half of our states, for example, Massachusetts (blue hills), Connecticut (long river), Dakota (allied people), Wyoming (great plains), Utah (mountain home). These and related facts have slipped almost entirely from our consciousness. Many Americans have quite forgotten the Indian's connection with America—a point which is illustrated by the following incident.²⁷ An Eastern woman, after spending the winter in Arizona, said that the climate was splendid but that she did not

²³*The Indian Today*, p. 89.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁵W. N. Hailmann, in M. M. Butler's *Education in the United States*, 11:961.

²⁶*Loc. cit.*

²⁷E. A. Steiner, *Nationalizing America*, p. 145.

like the people—there were too many foreigners. Upon being asked what foreigners she found so numerous in Arizona, she replied: "Oh, the Indians."

As soon as the American people really understand the Indian problem, they will insist upon justice to the Indian as the basis for an Americanization program. Our attitude will no longer be like that of an attorney general of the United States who, when asked to make a special inquiry in regard to an Indian case, exclaimed, "God forbid," and accompanied the fervid response by extending his palms, as if pushing away an unwelcome suggestion.²⁸

We must not fail to provide generously out of our abundance for these original possessors of our land. We must offer an educational program that will slowly transform the Indian from the hunting to the agricultural stage of development. We cannot afford to neglect the valuable gifts that the American Indian can yet make to current Americanism.

Lydia Huntley Sigourney has described the Indian's welcome to the Pilgrim Fathers in the following words:

When sudden from the forest wide
A red-browed chieftain came,
With towering form, and haughty stride,
And eye like kindling flame:
No wrath he breathed, no conflict sought,
To no dark ambush drew,
But simply to the Old World brought
The welcome of the New.

²⁸F. E. Leuepp, *The Indian and his Problem*, p. 2.

Then, by way of contrast, the poet has depicted the Indian's present low estate and how he is without a welcome in the mansions that have been builded on land that he once possessed :

Thou gav'st the riches of thy streams,
The lordship o'er thy waves,
The region of thine infant dreams,
And of thy father's graves,—
But who to yon proud mansions, piled
With wealth of earth and sea,
Poor outcast from thy forest wild,
Say, who shall welcome thee?

CHAPTER IX

THE NEGRO

The American Negro is of composite racial origin; he represents the black Guinea Negroes of the West Coast, the Bantus, Sudanese, and captives from wild interior tribes. He came chiefly from equatorial Africa where great heat and humidity prevail, and where nature is profligate in coarse foodstuffs. The climate favors indolence and suppresses ambition, exertion, and initiative. The over-energetic individuals are cut off; the indolent survive, and become the parents of the successive generations. The abundance of raw foods makes exertion unnecessary in order to secure a living. Natural factors combine to discourage ambition, intellectual effort, and progress, and to foster lethargy and mental retrogression.

Further, the equatorial regions are noted for the prevalence of diseases and pestilences of innumerable variety. Ignorance of hygienic laws and of medical rules combines with disease tendencies to create an excessively high infant and general mortality rate. Those tribes with a normal birth-rate—in an American sense—soon die out. Only those groups survive in whose members the sex instinct assumes a greatly exaggerated expression.

Additional light is cast upon the Negro problem in the United States by considering the Negro's environmental situation under American slavery. The results of the slave system parallel the effects of equatorial influences. Under that régime, any Negro who manifested individuality, a mind of his own, and self-will was punished. If he ran away or otherwise remonstrated against the oppressive phases of slavery, he was put in chains. Slavery offered no special incentive for doing an unusual amount of work in a day. For the mass, there was nothing but an atmosphere of mental oppression. The slave system, therefore, tended to eliminate any members of the race whose ambition and self-will had survived the rigorous weeding out process in the ancestral tropical home. The unambitious and mediocre survived and reproduced the race.

The Negro in America was compared in 1835 with the Indian by our sympathetic French critic, de Tocqueville:

"These two unhappy races have nothing in common; neither birth, nor features, nor language, nor habits. Their only resemblance lies in their misfortunes. Both of them occupy an inferior rank in the country they inhabit; both suffer from tyranny; and if their wrongs are not the same, they originate, at any rate, with the same authors.¹

"The Negro, who is plunged in this abyss of evils, scarcely feels his own calamitous situation. Violence made him a slave, and the habit of servitude gives him the thoughts and desires of a slave; he admires

¹*Democracy in America*, I:338.

his tyrants more than he hates them. . . . He conforms to the tastes of his oppressors, adopts their opinions and hopes by imitating them to form a part of their community. Having been told from infancy that his race is naturally inferior to that of the whites, he assents to the proposition and is ashamed of his own nature."²

After the belated but magnificent proclamation of freedom to the slaves occurred the gigantic political blunder of giving the Negroes the right of suffrage when they were utterly unprepared to exercise it, when 90 per cent of their number was illiterate, uneducated, and unable to appreciate the meaning of the simpler principles of government, and when such enfranchisement gave them political power over the educated South. One of the inevitable results was a state of anarchy, which lasted as long as the more highly developed race was subordinated.

Another unfortunate result was an accentuation of race prejudice. Under slavery, social contacts between whites and blacks were frequent and on the basis of friendly and established relationships. But freedom brought the separation of the races, friction, misunderstanding, and increase of race prejudice. It appears that the Negro is less popular today in the South than he was thirty years ago.

The Negro population of 4,400,000 in 1860 has increased to 11,000,000 in 1919. It is now three times the total population of the country when Washington was inaugurated; it is far larger than the present population of Canada. While the abso-

²*Ibid.*, pp. 339, 340.

lute numbers have steadily increased, the percentage of Negroes to Caucasians has decreased. In 1790, the percentage was 19; in 1860, it was 14; while in 1910, it had decreased to 10.6. This decrease and these percentages do not represent the full situation in the South. In Mississippi, 58.5 per cent of the total population in 1910 was colored; while in Washington County of that state with a population of 50,000, about 45,000 were colored. The majority of the inhabitants of South Carolina are black, while Georgia, Alabama, and Florida are nearly one-half colored.

The Negro has made long strides in overcoming illiteracy. When emancipated, at least 90 per cent of the race was unable to read and write. By 1890, the percentage had fallen to 56.8; in 1900, it had reached 47.3; and in 1910 it was 30.5. To have lowered their illiteracy record from 90 to 30.5 per cent in fifty years is a praiseworthy achievement.

In the industrial field, the black man's advance has been noteworthy. It is estimated that the Negroes own or are paying for 20,000,000 acres, or 32,000 square miles of land, in the United States—an acreage equal to the combined area of Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. As tenant farmers they are cultivating an additional 40,000,000 acres. They own taxable property to the amount of \$500,000,000, or \$45 per capita. These figures are large, for only fifty years ago the Negro owned practically no property and possessed little knowledge of methods of acquiring property. The Negro in the United States is credited with having

established 100 insurance companies and 65 banks. The business men of the race have organized a National Negro Business Men's League.⁸ In view of the countless obstacles, the industrial and business achievements of the Negro are remarkable.

The mass of the race still live, however, in a state of poverty. The percentage of pauperism is very high. The race suffers from a lack of industrial education, a low economic status in the midst of a higher industrial civilization, and a scarcity of appropriate stimuli.

The criminal records of the race are also high. The Negro racially represents a set of lower cultural standards than the Caucasian. From the level of higher standards, many moral acts on the lower levels are considered illegal and immoral. Another element in this untoward situation is the fact that two races of different standards are living in the same territory. Wherever such a condition exists, the lower moral strata of the higher race tend to contaminate the whole lower race. There is no doubt that on his cultural plane, the Negro is as moral as is the Caucasian on a higher level of development. Raise the Negro to the civilization status of the Caucasian and his criminality would compare favorably.

Intermixture of races is taking place illegally. About one-third of the black race contains white

⁸A novel business establishment of the race is the Negro Doll Company of Nashville, Tennessee. The Negro doll is described as "a neat, prim, well-dressed, well-behaved, self-respecting doll." It is hoped that the colored doll will have the effect of "instilling in Negro girls and in Negro women a feeling of respect for the race."

blood, in varying degrees. The intermixture is greatest in the border states and least in the Black Belt. The amalgamation takes place under legally and socially abnormal conditions. As a result, there is a vast cauldron of evil, vice, and crime continually boiling up in the life of the American people; Americanism is thereby irreparably damaged.

Negro migration to the Northern states has always constituted a problem, but in recent years the circumstances have grown worse. The South needs the labor of the Negro; she suffers industrially from his departure. In the North, the Negro's problems of adjustment are manifold. The members of the race tend to congregate frequently in segregated districts of vice, where their disease-rate and death-rate run excessively high. The war accelerated Negro migration to the North. The high wages have been the attractive feature, but competition with the labor unions has been baleful. The war resulted also in raising several pertinent questions in the Negro's mind; chief of which is this: "If I am good enough to fight for democracy 'over there,' am I not good enough to be treated democratically here at home?"

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From the standpoint of Americanization, what is the Negro problem? In the first place, the leaders of the race are divided into two camps. Booker T. Washington was the chief representative of one division, while W. E. B. DuBois is the best known spokesman of the opponents. Washington believed that the race problem consisted, primarily, in making the Negro an industrially efficient worker. In this

way, he will become of indispensable service to his neighbor and community. Washington's dictum was that race prejudice decreases as economic efficiency increases. When the Negro fills well the basic occupations he may aspire to higher positions. While Washington believed in all types of education, he stressed industrial instruction as the most vitally needed by the race as a group. When the Negro succeeds in industrially independent ways, white people will forget his color, and race prejudice will gradually die out. If his industrial success means that he displaces white labor, then race prejudice will be increased.

In matters of social interest, Washington took the attitude that the white and black races should remain separate like the fingers of the hand.⁴ The announcement of this principle in 1897 at Atlanta raised a storm of protest on the part of many colored people. While Jim Crow regulations, such as separate cars and waiting rooms reduce race friction, they are humiliating to the Negro. The Negro leader always strongly advised his people that before demanding social recognition, they should do things in a material and mental way for which to be recognized. Industrial unity and social separateness, thus, became Washington's doctrine.

The opposing division of the Negro race has been lead by W. E. B. DuBois and others. Professor Kelly Miller, while highly appreciative of Booker T. Washington's viewpoint and efforts, leans to DuBois'

⁴*Up from Slavery*, Chap. XIV.

side of the question.⁵ Dr. DuBois holds that the Negro problem consists in removing the white man's prejudice against the black race. He asks that all pre-judgments against the Negro be removed and believes that then the Negro will prove himself capable and worthy. The prejudice against the Negro results in isolation both ways; the Negro is cut off from the best of Caucasian culture; and the Caucasian is prevented from understanding the Negro. The following excerpts present Dr. DuBois' point of view.

"The humblest white employee knows that the better he does his work the more chance there is for him to rise in business. The black employee knows that the better he does his work the longer he may hope to do it; he cannot often hope for promotion.

"Thus the white young man starts in life knowing that within some limits and barring accidents, talent and application will tell. The young Negro starts knowing that on all sides his advance is made doubly difficult if not wholly shut off by his color.

"Why deride the Negro race for not producing scholars when a few decades ago it was denied the use of letters? Why expect great Negro statesmen where Negroes are not allowed to vote?"⁶

Among Southern white people, the attitude of Thomas Nelson Page is typical. Mr. Page believes that the Negro problem centers in the fact that the old feelings of affection that existed between many members of the two races before the Civil War have

⁵*Race Adjustment.*

⁶*The Philadelphia Negro*, Chap. XIV.

now passed away and been supplanted by indifference, lack of understanding, and even by hostility. Mr. Page states that the hostility toward the Negro in the South is due to the fact that the younger generation of the Negroes has been taught that they are the social equals of the white man, and that they are always trying to prove that teaching in every way except the right, that is, by genuine worth and work.' It is thus the contention of Mr. Page that the Negro is primarily at fault and must change.

Mention may be made here of the *Clansman*, or the *Birth of a Nation*, a motion picture film which deals in large part with the Negro problem. This film is unfair to Negroes because it shows them at their worst in their relations with the white race. While the harrowing illustrations of the actions of individual Negroes undoubtedly represent actual happenings, they present the darkest phases of Negro life. They exhibit the meanest phases of Negro activities during the Reconstruction period. Only a few glimpses of the worthy side of the Negro are shown. The *Clansman* gives historical half-truths. Its vivid representations in picture form appeal directly to the emotions, engender race hatred, and re-open healed sores. As *Uncle Tom's Cabin* shows the white race in its worst treatment of the black race, so the *Clansman* presents the black man in his worst attitudes toward the white man.

Northern white people have said that the Negro problem rests in the failure of the Southerner to perceive that he has a great unfulfilled social re-

sponsibility to meet in behalf of the black man. "The simple truth is that there is a white problem linked with the Negro problem and that both of them must be solved together."⁸ A new social attitude is needed by the Southern white people, namely, to assist the Negro to help himself up.⁹ The South, as a whole, can advance only when all the inhabitants are brought to high levels of efficiency, and when all are successful and progressing. In matters of law and order, in the fields of health and of upright living, the entire South is dependent upon the character and welfare of the humblest citizen. If sections of the South are degraded, the contamination will weaken the whole mass. The Negro problem in the United States first centered in slavery, then in reconstruction, then in disenfranchisement, and recently in segregation, but always in race prejudice.

What should an Americanization program include that will help solve the Negro problem? First, there must be wholesale education along agricultural, industrial, and trade lines for the mass of the Negro race, and higher educational provisions for the members of the race who are fitted to undertake advanced studies. This educational program must include instruction in the questions of personal worth and social responsibility, and give that broad training of mind and spirit which will produce large numbers of Negro leaders for the race. In this move-

⁸P. L. Haworth, *America in Ferment*, p. 146.

⁹Cf. George Elliott Howard, "The Social Cost of Southern Race Prejudice," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XXII:577-93.

ment, all must participate, white and black, North and South, the Federal government, and state governments. Booker T. Washington estimated that although the Negro constituted about 11 per cent of the population of the country, his children received the benefit of only about 2 per cent of the school funds. The Negro must be given his proportionate share of educational attention. The problem affects the welfare of the entire nation and its solution must be worked out as a national undertaking.

A second line of procedure is to keep the ballot open to the Negroes who are ready to exercise its prerogatives. In 1868, the mistake was made of not educating the Negro for assuming civil responsibilities and for exercising the right of suffrage. But when he can pass tests of citizenship similar to those to which aliens submit, he should be given the ballot.

Today we face the anomalous situation of having drafted the Negro into the army and of considering him good enough to lay down his life for the country, but not good enough to be trained to vote. In a perfected democracy all the individuals who may be called upon to give up their lives for their country ought to be trained to a level that fits them for a vote in the republic.

"Do you vote?" a Negro in Louisiana was asked. "I done passed up politics long ago," he replied, "I got property enough to qualify, but it's unhealthy." This incident illustrates several phases of the problem of educating the Negro for voting and of keeping the vote open to him when he is prepared for it.

A third set of suggestions involves undermining race prejudice. Each race is prone to see the faults and to overlook the best qualities in other races. There is need for a renaissance of the attitude of recognizing true worth wherever it shows itself, irrespective of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The Negro's latest demonstrations of worth have come to light since the declaration of war in 1917. At the National Conference of Social Work held in Kansas City in 1918, James W. Johnson¹⁰ pointed out that for every 100 colored citizens called in the first draft, 36 qualified for service, while out of every 100 white citizens, 25 qualified. Further, a lower percentage of Negroes than Caucasians were rejected for tuberculosis, for alcoholism, for flat-footedness, and for feeble-mindedness.

During the sixteen months following the declaration of war in April 1917, in addition to the colored victims¹¹ of the East St. Louis race riots, 84 Negroes were lynched in sixteen different states of the Union.¹² Concerning lynchings President Wilson has said that "every one of them has been a blow at the heart of ordered law and humane justice."¹³ Again: "How shall we commend democracy to the acceptance of other peoples, if we disgrace our own by proving that it is, after all, no protection to the weak?"¹⁴ Race prejudice in so far

¹⁰"The Changing Status of Negro Labor," National Conference of Social Work, 1918, pp. 385ff.

¹¹Numbering 175.

¹²*Survey*, August 3, 1918, p. 511.

¹³Presidential statement on "Mob Violence," July 26, 1918.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

as it manifests itself in lynchings in a land "where the courts of justice are open and the governments of the States and the Nation are ready and able to do their duty" is undemocratic. Every person who assists in a lynching is a betrayer of Democracy,¹⁵ according to the President.

Unfortunately the movement to segregate whites and blacks in cities is being enforced by ordinance. Further, rural race segregation is developing. It was James Bryce who asked how could "the haughty assertion of superiority by the whites and the suppressed resentment of the more advanced among the colored people, be prevented from ripening into a settled distrust and hostility?"¹⁶ Mr. Bryce answered his own question by asserting that race prejudice might be treated successfully by an application of the principles of the Gospel.¹⁷

As the Negro rises on the scale of industrial success and of social worth, he must take care not to assume a haughty, boastful, or superior attitude, if he would do his part in stifling race prejudice. His achievements will speak more constructively for him than oratory or argument can do. The white man, likewise, needs to show continuously an attitude of good feeling and a spirit of helpfulness toward the Negro. In his dealings with the black man, he cannot afford as an American to act unjustly or unnecessarily to arouse resentment.

By nature, the Negro is affectionate, teachable, willing. He possesses a talent for public speaking

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*The American Commonwealth*, vi:529.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 564.

and a remarkable love of music. Almost the only outlet for the musical ability of a Negro young person is the vaudeville and other inferior types of theatres—institutions which pull a Negro down rather than help him up. He is “exasperatingly cheerful under the worst conditions”; he has a saving sense of humor; he fights well for his country and is highly loyal. He is singularly susceptible to improvement, open to religious suggestion, and carries with him the genius of a long-suffering virtue.¹⁸ “He has accepted the tongue, the religion, the literature, and the standards of his former masters.”¹⁹

We need to develop the habit of appreciating the Negro's good traits, of helping him to help himself up the educational highways, and of keeping the ballot open to him when he is qualified to use it. And he, on the other hand, must center his attention upon achievement, and upon showing himself a worthy American.

¹⁸A. B. Hart, *National Ideals Historically Traced*, p. 50.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 65.

CHAPTER X

THE APPALACHIAN MOUNTAINEER

There are between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 mountaineers in the United States whose environment precludes their contact with progress. The chief group of these Americans is located in Appalachia, "one of the landlocked areas of the globe, more English in speech than Britain itself, more American by blood than any other part of America, encompassed by a high-tensioned civilization, yet less affected today by modern ideas, less cognizant of modern progress, than any other part of the English-speaking world."¹ Appalachia is 500 miles long by 200 miles wide, or nearly as large as the New England states and New York combined. It comprises over 200 mountain counties, and includes perhaps 100,000 square miles of territory. It begins at the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, extends through West Virginia, and includes the mountainous sections of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Eastern Tennessee, Eastern Kentucky, Northern Georgia, and Northern Alabama. The people are of Scotch, Scotch-Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Swiss, and Palatinate German types, and of Cav-

¹H. Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, p. 380. The total number of the Appalachian mountaineers is estimated by Mr. Kephart at 4,000,000 (p. 311).

alier and Huguenot ancestry. They are, according to President W. G. Frost of Berea College, "our contemporary ancestors." They are the descendants chiefly of Scotch-Irish and Scotch colonists who straggled into the Appalachian fastnesses and settled down while time went on. They are anthropological survivals of colonial days. They represent a larger proportions of "Sons" and "Daughters" of the American Revolution than any other people in the United States.²

The mountaineers of Appalachia may be divided into three classes: the advanced, the normal, and the degenerate.³ The advanced type live in the cultivated valleys that are in direct contact with civilization. They have established many prosperous cities. It is this class that produced "Stonewall" Jackson, Daniel Boone, Presidents Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln. The normal mountaineer is in a belated state. He has come, however, from a good stock, and his backwardness is due not to lack of ability, but to lack of stimulation. To him the chief place in this chapter will be given. Then there is the degenerate in the mountains who in many ways is like the "poor white trash" of the lowlands. He corresponds to the lowest social strata in our cities.

In mountain regions many peculiar social customs are sometimes discovered. Elizabeth W. Klingberg describes interestingly a large family in Appalachia in which the youngest two children were without

²W. G. Frost, "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains," *Atlantic Mon.*, 83:311ff.

³Cf. S. T. Wilson, *The Southern Mountaineers*, pp. 19ff.

"given" names. It was impossible to enroll them in school. When the teacher visited the home, the mother gave the almost incredible explanation that all the names she knew or liked had been given to the older children and that she had been totally unable to provide names for the youngest two. In this home, there was no scrap of reading matter, no Bible, almanac, or school book.⁴

Carpets on the floors of the single-room cabins are rare. A piece of cloth placed in a tin of grease serves the purposes of a lamp. Chickens sometimes serve as money; the "face value" of a hen is said to be about three yards of calico. Eggs are used in making change.

Privacy and delicacy are uncommon. Little scientific medical knowledge is available. Diseases such as trachoma are prevalent. In 1916, it was reported that in one county—Knott County, Kentucky—three state parties, Democratic, Republican, and Progressive, had planks in their platforms asserting that they would fight trachoma in that county through governmental action.

From the daily speech of the Southern mountaineers, hundreds of words have been gathered which have been obsolete since about the sixteenth century or have survived only in the dialects of England.⁵ Some of these words possess a decided Chaucerian flavor. Sample terms are "smilingest," "talkingest," "knittingest," "jail-house," "Bible-

⁴*South Atlantic Quarterly*, October, 1915.

⁵S. S. MacClintock, "The Kentucky Mountaineers and their Feuds," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, VII:27.

book," "nap o' sleep," "creek o' land." "To be angry" means in certain localities to be ambitious; "worritted," to be tired; and "flower pot," any kind of a bouquet. The quaint methods of expression and the independent attitude of mind are indicated in the following statements:

"Wal, I reckon things is about evened up in this world. You've been everywhere and seen everythin', but I kin spin."

"We uns that cain't read or write have a heap of time to think, and that's how we know more than you all."

At a teacher's institute held a few years ago in Leslie County, Kentucky, one of the teachers failed to spell correctly every one of fifty words taken from a college paper, and could not form the letter "Z".⁶ The typical preachers are uneducated; they must be "called"; they must preach without preparation. Salaried ministers are considered an abomination unto the Lord. The preaching is dogmatic, hortatory, and dramatic. Various Baptist denominations are the most common types of religious bodies; Methodists and Presbyterians are also found.

The mountaineers' conception of the country at large, of current Americanism, of international issues is "shadowy and attenuated. As to what is going on in the world of affairs, they have practically no conception."⁷ National problems, ordinarily, are so far remote from the daily thinking of the average mountaineer that these vital affairs rarely enter the

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 380ff.

range of his interests. According to Margaret W. Morley,⁸ the average woman cannot tell 'who is president of the United States. A visitor to the mountain fastnesses from Chicago or Washington or Atlanta is called a "furriner."⁹ A person from Europe may be called "outlandish." When Mr. Bryan returned from his trip around the globe, a mountaineer referred to the Nebraskan as having "kem back from the other world." In time of national war, the mountain people are ready to volunteer. Their emotions are quickly aroused. Their records as fighters are replete with deeds of bravery, from the battle of King's Mountain to the present time. In the Civil War they furnished 100,000 volunteers for the Union armies. Their patriotism is of the eighteenth century colonial type. They love liberty and freedom. They possess the characteristics of a fundamental social democracy. Social castes are almost unknown; "I'm as good as you are," is the prevailing standard.

The family and the clan are perhaps the outstanding social units. An offense to one member of the clan is considered an offense to all members. The causes of these feuds are manifold. (1) Blood relationship is the bond of social solidarity; there is no neutral ground. (2) The people possess the Buffalo Bill type of fighting spirit which is a characteristic of pioneering in the wilderness. The heavily-loaded pistol hangs ever ready at the hip, while the dangerous Winchester is a common possession. (3)

⁸*The Carolina Mountains*, p. 195.

⁹Kephart, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Overlapping land claims frequently result in temporary disputes that culminate in bloody feuds. In Kentucky, the land titles are more confused than in any other American state, because of overlapping land grants that have been made. (4) Sheriffs and other representatives of the law frequently favor one side or the other in a feud. Consequently, the individual feudist acquires the habit of administering justice—as he sees it—on his own initiative. (5) A man who refuses to participate in a feud and to fight for his clan is ostracized by his own group. (6) There is a lack of steady, organized work and a consequent abundance of time which leads to idleness. Jealousies and personal enmities quickly arise, and conversation and small talk take precedence over work.

The mountaineer has been frequently alienated from whole-hearted adoption of Americanism because of the exploitation of the natural resources of his mountain fastnesses by commercial enterprise. He has been startled by the screaming of steam whistles and the booming of dynamite. He has watched the best trees of the forests fall and float away on the streams. He has seen the rivers dammed and their forces transformed into units of colossal power. He has been dazed “by electric lights, non-plussed by speaking wires, awed by vast transfers of property, incensed by rude demands. Aroused, now, and wild-eyed, he realizes with sinking heart that here is a sudden end of that Old Dispensation under which he and his ancestors were born, the beginning of a New Order that heeds him

and his neighbors not a whit."¹⁰ In addition to the suddenness of the commercial invasion, there is its mercenary and ruthless character. The words of a Northern lumberman are reported by Horace Kephart, as follows: "All that we want here is to get the most we can out of this country, as quick as we can, and then get out."¹¹ This dispossession of the mountaineer is unAmerican in the best sense of the term.

What contributions can the highlander make to Americanism? He is noted for his independence of spirit and his pride. He has been unable to fall back upon others for help; he has had to cultivate his own resourcefulness at every turn. He is naturally as proud of his success as well as of his mountain habitat. An old settler from the mountains of Northern California visited San Francisco some years ago after having been away from that city for several decades. The village which he had last seen in 1857 had grown into a dazzling city. He was shown the urban marvels and was expected to exclaim in terms of wonder and amazement by the proud urbanite who conducted him about. Instead, in a spirit of ennui, he merely replied, "Wal, I reckon things have changed some since I was here before." He was anxious to return to his mountain environment with its (to him) superior advantages. A mountain woman who visited rural friends in Ohio was glad to return to her mountain home, whereupon she exclaimed: "Law sakes, there warn't nary a hill fer me to land my eyes up aginst."

¹⁰Kephart, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 383.

The independence and pride of the mountaineer are shown in many ways. He admires the established order; and "to change it, is fairly impious." He scorns the strangers who boast about modern improvements. "Shrewdly he observes them in their relations to each other :

'Each man is some man's servant,
Every soul is by some other's presence quite dis-
crowned.'

Proudly he contrasts his ragged self: he who has never acknowledged a superior, never has taken orders from living man, save as a patriot in time of war."¹² He refuses to carry an umbrella; such an act he considers "queer." He will suffer severe pain without flinching. He hides his emotions; his feelings are subliminal. He scorns luxury as being effeminate.

Typical mountain peoples are hospitable and obliging to a surprising degree. They welcome frank and kindly treatment; they are quick to resent an air of patronizing condescension.¹³ They are reticent, but very sensitive. When once aroused they speak bluntly and without fear of consequences. Their honesty is unquestioned. Moral stamina is characteristic of these "butternut-jeansed, rawhide-booted, and calico-sunbonnetted people." They possess strong physiques, iron constitutions, unjaded nerves,

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 381.

¹³The reader should consult the descriptions of mountain life in the novels of John Fox, Jr.

and an indifference to luxury¹⁴—all valuable social assets.

Americanization of the Appalachian inhabitants involves moving them forward two centuries on the dial of civilization and of Americanism. "Time has lingered in Appalachia."¹⁵ The people are unacquainted with civilization; they constitute sound material for the Americanization process. They must be released from their shackles of ignorance. They must be freed from their blood-feuds. Their loyalty which is high in view of their isolation must be put in tune with current American ideals. For the reason that they and the nation have grown apart, they must receive the sympathetic attention of the nation.

They must be protected from inbreeding and the resultant degeneracy that is found in many mountain regions. They must be educated industrially, freed from their poverty, and enabled to possess the fullness of their localities. Education must be extended widely and without stint by Federal, state, and local appropriations. The regular day schools and industrial and trade schools must be established wherever mountain people live. Model farms are needed in every mountain county. Traveling teachers would be able to work a revolution. Citizenship work is a necessity. The training of leaders from their own numbers is one of the greatest needs—leaders to show the way agriculturally, industrially, domestic-

¹⁴E. C. Semple, *The Influences of a Geographic Environment*, p. 601.

¹⁵H. Kephart, *Our Southern Highlanders*, p. 18.

ally, patriotically. The result of this Americanization program would be the training of good farmers, good housewives, good mechanics, good patriots and Americans.

PART THREE

THE FOREIGN-BORN AND AMERICAN TRAITS

CHAPTER XI

THE NORTH EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT

The North European immigrant includes the English, the Celt, the Scandinavian, the Dutch, and the German. These peoples came as colonists and immigrants and gave Americanism its fundamental trend.

The English stand at the head of the group in their influence upon America. They have given us our language. In the way that form circumscribes and gives direction to tendencies; so the English language has exerted a widely unsuspected influence upon our American life. By using that language, we have been led unconsciously to the storehouses of thought, literature, and customs of the English people with their millennium of national experiences.

Our fundamental social institutions have come from the English. Our attitudes toward the family and the school originated in large part in England. Our political and legal institutions are English. England gave us our first ideas concerning civil liberty and the doctrine of the consent of the gov-

erned. Our standards of right and wrong and our religious conceptions are of British development.

The English colonist and immigrant have contributed great intellectual powers to our American life. As their language has brought to us the richness of Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Anglo-Saxon elements; so their race has contributed to our type an amalgamation of Celtic, Norman-French, and Anglo-Saxon traits. They have brought more bodily vigor, endurance and constitutional energy than any other group of immigrants.

Their psychical gifts include decision and nerve-energy and independence in thought and action. "Each man walks, eats, drinks, shaves, dresses, gesticulates, and in every manner acts and suffers without reference to the bystanders," except to be careful not to interfere with them. Each new comer from England is an island in himself.¹ He is self-contained. He brings a towering degree of self-assurance. "Of all persons, the Englishman stands firmest in his shoes."

His social contributions to American life include an emphasis upon plain dealing, a habit of matching plain force with plain force, a reluctance to run away, a desire to die game. He has brought to our shores an admiration for custom and propriety. He likes those customs "whereof the memory of man runneth not back to the contrary." He is fastidious in wanting things done in good form. He prides himself on the exactness of his clothing and equipage. He has stood for individualism and conservatism. He ad-

¹R. W. Emerson, *English Traits*, p. 104.

mires you if you are decided in your own opinions and tender toward honored customs. He possesses an anomalous element in his democratic character as evidenced by the homage he pays to wealth and to the laws of inheritance, in his tolerance of an antiquated House of Lords and a king stripped of political power.

The Englishman's self-restraint is especially noticeable when compared with American volubleness. His stoical self-control contrasts with American enthusiasm. His conservatism is clearly delineated when thrown upon the screen of American adaptability. An English publisher hesitates to accept a manuscript in an entirely new field, while an American publisher will not consider a manuscript unless it represents a new realm of thought. An American officer visited a tailor shop in London in order to have the pocket in his military coat altered. The English tailor after examining the coat replied: "It can't be done." "But," said the officer, "do you know what an American tailor would do? He would examine the pocket and say: 'Be seated; it'll be ready for you in twenty minutes.'"

Americanization should include a program for the development of a better understanding by Americans of their English heritage. In our schools, we are taught concerning our wars against England; our hatred for the Red Coats of Revolutionary days stays with us. We are rarely taught our indebtedness to the English, that we were a part of England politically for two centuries—a longer period than that of our existence as a separate nation. We for-

get that we are the children of England in social ideals more than of any other people. "Take away from America all that is English within her and she would be a wilderness again."

Our likemindedness is shown by the fact that her colony, Canada, and we have lived side by side for many years in peace without establishing or thinking of establishing large standing armies and bristling fortresses. Canada and the United States have given the world an actual exhibition of that future day when nations shall live in such a condition of agreement that even defensive armaments will not be needed. Canada and the United States have personified a new type of international relationship.

On the other hand, the modern Englishman within our borders can do much to further a better understanding. He must be careful to conceal his idiosyncracies. Too many English travelers in the United States have impressed us as dudes or snobs. By them we have been prone, unfortunately, to judge all England.

Our Celtic immigrants have brought to America the characteristics of one of the oldest stocks of Europe. Caesar made reference to the lively traits of one of the early Celtic tribes. The Middle Ages are replete with Celtic activities. By the seventeenth century the Celts had become divided into politically and religiously antagonistic groups, e. g., the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish. In American pioneer days the Scots, or Scotch-Irish, played the chief Celtic role; in the nineteenth century, the coming of the

Irish millions was the leading Celtic event in America.

The Scots who came to the United States in such large numbers in the eighteenth century, originally lived in Scotia, "a lowland pocket of territory" in southwest Scotland. They represented an amalgamation of Caledonians or Picts, Britons, Irish, Norwegians, Angles, Saxons, and Danes. In 1610, large numbers moved to Ulster, the northern province of Ireland, to occupy the lands of the Irish which had been confiscated by English and Scottish lords at the request of James I (of England), who wished to transform Catholic Ireland into a Protestant Scotland. By the year 1700, the Ulstermen had developed extensive woolen and linen manufactures. These industries were suddenly cut off by the enacting of Irish legislation at the behest of the British crown, which forbade the exportation of woolen and linen goods from Ireland. A few years later the one hundred year leases that the Scots held on the Ulster lands began to expire. For the new leases, the Irish overbid the Scots and left them landless.² Heavy emigration resulted. Large numbers came annually to the American colonies. As these Scots came from Ireland, they became known in America as Scotch-Irish. Finding Congregationalism the established state church in Massachusetts, they migrated to Pennsylvania and adjoining colonies. Later, they moved into Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. Wherever they went, they became pioneers, darers, doers, men of action. They have con-

²J. R. Commons, *Immigrants and Races in America*, pp. 31ff.

tributed more than has any other race to that type known as the pioneer, or western, American.

The Scotch-Irish brought with them the spirit of democracy as developed in the Scotch kirk, a hatred of autocratic political domination, and an iron will. Will power is their leading contribution to American life. In war, exploration, and government their leaders have been many and noted. They have played an honored and integral role in the development of the United States.

Irish immigrants began to come to the United States in large numbers about 1846. The failure of the potato crop and English economic oppression combined to throw Ireland into a state of starvation. The operation of underlying causes made the Irish people peculiarly helpless in the presence of the potato famine. Landlord greed had reduced them to a low economic level. The hundreds of thousands of cattle, sheep, and other live-stock, and other hundreds of thousands of bushels of grain that were shipped from Ireland during the famine would have been sufficient to have prevented the disaster, but Ireland had no self-government and was unable to put an embargo on these large quantities of food.

In 1851, the immigration to the United States of the Irish reached a quarter of a million, its highest point. Immigration continued, however, in the subsequent decades, but in diminished numbers. Irish immigration to the United States has totaled about 5,000,000, a figure larger than that represented by English immigration and exceeded only by the Ger-

man, and a number larger than the present population of Ireland. Boston and New York have been pronounced the largest Irish cities in the world.

The Irish immigrant has come from a land where he has been a man without a country, where he could not improve the premises which he leased without having his rent raised, and where he has been a strong nationalist and has wanted home rule. In America, he has forged ahead into positions of leadership in city wards and labor unions. He has had large representation among ward "bosses" and strike leaders. Moreover, he has reached high rank in his ability to govern. When Mayor John P. Mitchel and the members of his cabinet came to Chicago, and were the guests of the City Club at luncheon, Mr. Henry Bruere, the only member of the Mayor's official family present who was not an Irishman, declared that to govern one's self was godlike, but to govern others was Hibernian. Further, a city school superintendent is reported as saying: "Of two applicants, I take the teacher with an Irish name, because she will have less trouble with the problem of discipline and she will 'hit it off' better with the parents and the neighborhood."

Because of his conventional temperament, he has entered readily into the existing American institutions. His imagination is a valuable asset. He is quick to appreciate the feelings of others. He is a good newspaper reporter, actor, and public speaker. He stirs the hearts of the people. The Irishman has lent a greatly needed optimistic quality to American life. His lively good nature, quick wit, and illogical

humor have given a wholesome tone to otherwise a too serious Americanism.

The Irish immigrant has shown his strongest mental characteristic to be a striking disregard for circumstances.³ Anything or anybody who arouses his wrath, feels his oncoming rush. He is a fighter, but is far better on an offensive than an a prolonged defensive. Quick in action, he lands, if tripped, on his feet. His ability is available at the moment, wherever he is. His main gifts to Americanism are his generosity, joviality, quickness in wit and action.

The Scandinavians have sent more than 2,000,000 of their numbers to America. They represent the European race which first discovered America. While the Norsemen came a millenium ago, and while Scandinavians arrived in Colonial days, it was not until the steamship became common that Scandinavian immigration assumed definite proportions. The advertising of the agents of the steamship companies, the unsuccessful Dano-Prussian war of 1866, and an industrial depression in Norway combined in starting many emigrants for America. The movement culminated in 1883.

Scandinavia has sent many trained artisans, but chiefly farmers and unskilled workers. Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Wisconsin have been their leading destinations. The Scandinavian immigrant carried to America his love for education. Because of his insignificant percentage of illiteracy, he has soon learned English, and has been assimilated readily.

³E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, pp. 40ff.

He has become assimilated in less time than any other non-English speaking immigrant. In many localities the second generation is scarcely distinguishable from ordinary American-born children.

The Scandinavian's demeanor is quiet, he sings in a minor key, and his folk-song possesses the dreaminess of the Orient.⁴ He is slow to anger; he is not easily moved by fiery eloquence, he does not indulge in street rioting as a means of righting political wrongs. A shrewd lawyer who is defending law-breakers tries to keep the Scandinavian out of the jury box.

The Danish immigrant is the Southerner of Scandinavia. He comes from a nation of farmers, who are among the best trained and most intellectual agriculturists of the world. He is a strong advocate of rural education, a rural press, and rural political organizations. He comes from a country in which the farmer constitutes the ruling class, and the dominant element in Parliament. His is a heritage which is democratic industrially as well as politically, which denies the rights of special privilege, and which believes in a government operated by the producers.⁵

Swedish immigrants are singularly homogeneous. Their home center is gregarious Stockholm. Theirs is a people which has given a generally-beloved and sweet-voiced Jenny Lind to music, a Strindberg to literature, and a Nobel to invention and philanthropy. Co-education and out-of-door life have given their daughters a combination of sturdiness

⁴E. A. Steiner, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*, p. 113.

⁵F. C. Howe, *The High Cost of Living*, p. 107.

and femininity. Swedish immigrants have brought to America the ways of a genteel ancestry.

The Norwegian is the product of a more rigorous climate than is his Swedish cousin.⁶ He is more reserved, more austere in religion, less demonstrative, and less advanced culturally. But when stimulated and aroused, he goes farther ahead and is more aggressive in improving his opportunities.

The Norwegian immigrant has "the high spirit of a people which has never known the steam-roller of feudalism." He could order the king off the land, if he so desired. He has been described as "a big, rough uncultured child of nature"; he has come from stony and water-soaked lands which have yielded him a bare existence. His life in the home land has been one of toil and brooding, without comfort except that of his steadfast religious faith. His race has produced Ibsen and Björnson: the former has influenced profoundly not only Scandinavia but continental Europe, England, and America; the latter has been so beloved that the mention of his name to his countrymen is "like running up the national flag" of Norway.

The Dutch have wielded an American influence far in excess of their numerical strength in our country. They contributed to English civilization before they influenced America, and thus indirectly—through the English—we are indebted to them. In the days of Henry VIII, the people of Holland were more advanced in many things than the English or

⁶Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 82ff.

the French and were influencing in constructive ways the immediate ancestors of many of the colonists.

In New Amsterdam itself a certain cosmopolitanism prevailed which was characteristic of the Netherlands. Life in New Amsterdam is described as being gracious and free and broadly tolerant. The Dutch colonists stood for educational progress; they established an educational system in New Amsterdam as early as 1621. Both sexes received an education. For that early day men and women possessed a unique type of equality. Neither party was married *to* the other. Each was married *with* the other.⁷ Sometimes the marriage contract provided that the wife and husband should inherit absolutely from the other. Marriage was established upon a kind of mutuality.

They sponsored freedom of the ballot and fair play in all things. Not the least part that they have played in American development is their role in founding New York City. They have contributed leaders to American life, for example, General Philip Schuyler and Presidents Van Buren and Roosevelt.

The first German migration to this country occurred in 1682 and the succeeding years, as a result of the activities of William Penn and his agents. At this time, Germantown, Pennsylvania, was settled by Pietists, Tunkers, Schwenkfelders, Mennonites, and other seekers for religious freedom.

⁷Cf. A. W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, Vol. I, p. 167.

The next German migration came between 1848 and 1855. After the Napoleonic wars, militaristic German governments assumed increased autocratic powers. At the same time the growth of the universities fostered the rise of liberalism, which in 1848 broke forth in open conflict with the military régime. The triumph of the former was brief; the latter soon made liberalism untenable; literally, millions of people migrated. In 1854, 215,000 German immigrants came to the United States. This figure has been exceeded by the Germans but once, namely, in 1882. Following the successes in the Franco-Prussian war, Prussian militarism acquired additional power, which together with the economic opportunities in the United States explains the high tide of German immigration of the period centering about 1882. In the opening years of the present century the majority of German immigrants was coming from outside the boundaries of Germany—chiefly from Austria-Hungary. Over 6,000,000 Germans have migrated to the United States.

The German immigrant brought a doctrine of personal liberty. The outstanding individual of the 1848-1855 liberalists was Carl Schurz who attained the rank of major general in the Civil War, the position of minister to Spain, and of secretary of the interior in the cabinet of President Hayes. The movement of liberals to America has produced bitter opponents of special privilege in property, such as many of the Socialist Party leaders in this country.

The German immigrant of the nineteenth century attracted attention to himself because of his unre-

mitting industry and thrift. He entered early upon agricultural pursuits; he pushed into the Middle West where he reaped substantial returns for his labors. His business success in America has also been noteworthy. It has been due, not to taking chances, but to steady plodding. He has taken fewer chances "in the lottery of life than his enterprising Scotch-Irish or Yankee neighbor." Unfortunately, his success has led him, frequently, into a gross materialism. His contributions to business advance in America are attested by the mention of names, such as Schwab, Stetinius, Heinz, Spreckles, Busch, Studebaker, Hershey, Gunther, Kohlsaat, Knabe, Steinway, Bausch and Lomb. The German immigrant of the nineteenth century, as well as his children, in nearly every case, has repudiated and condemned the militaristic, autocratic, perfidious ruling class in Germany, which, having educated the German people in false doctrines, turned them into armies for the domination of the world.

The North European has been the backbone of Americanism. But not all of his best traits have yet found expression and not all of his energy and ability has been turned to improving the quality of our American democracy.

CHAPTER XII

THE SOUTH EUROPEAN IMMIGRANT

The French, Spanish, and Portuguese, the Italians, and the Greeks are the races which are here included in the term, South European immigrant. The South Slavs will be discussed in the following chapter.

Although the French began to migrate to America in the days of La Salle and Louis XIV, French migration to this country has always been small in numbers. The Huguenots who came in colonial days were a select class of manufacturers and merchants. They were enterprising and educated. They have furnished able American leaders such as Mr. John Jay and General Francis Marion.

Nineteenth and twentieth century migration from France has included, chiefly, skilled and professional people. Very few peasants have come direct from France. Our relations with and indebtedness to France have been of a military, diplomatic, and cultural nature, rather than of an immigration character. The French influence in America has radiated from the philosophic trinity of Truth, Equality, and Justice.

From Canada, many peasants have come, largely to the New England states. The French-Canadians entered the mills or engaged in the fishing industry

in New England. Because economic opportunities have proved disappointing, the return migration to Canada of the French Canadians has been large.

The Spanish, long a migrating people, have never come to the United States in large numbers. They have gone to Mexico, the Central, and the South American republics, and to the islands of the adjoining seas. The Spanish have penetrated our Southern States from Florida to California. Early Spanish settlements were established in territory which is now a part of continental United States. The influence of these pioneering efforts has been great and still remains—especially in matters of religion, architecture, amusements. In recent decades, migration from Spain has been very small.

The immigration of Portuguese has raised problems out of proportion to the small numbers which have come. Portuguese have rarely migrated hither direct from Portugal, but from the Cape Verde, Azores, and even from the Hawaiian Islands. One of their chief settlements is at New Bedford, Massachusetts. Their standards of living are, as a rule, low. Illiteracy of the Portuguese is high; in 1913, it was 62 per cent. Segregation is common; Americanization and naturalization are taking place slowly.

Americans do not know the average Italian. Americans have studied the Italy of fine arts, of palaces, or cathedrals, but not the people of Italy. Our ignorance of Italians is astounding in view of the fact that for years Italy sent us a quarter of a million of her citizens annually, and that in New

York and Brooklyn there are more Italians than in Rome. To many Americans, the Italian is nothing more than a vender of fruits, a hand organ grinder, or a devotee of macaroni. We forget that he comes from a country that has three times led the world; first, politically; second, religiously; and third, intellectually. We forget that it was a man of this race who discovered our continent, and that it was another man of his race whose name our continent bears. The Italian comes from a stock that has produced world leaders, e. g., Columbus, Marco Polo, Garibaldi, Mazzini, Titian, Dante, Michael Angelo.

The North Italian is more advanced than the South Italian and Sicilian. In proportion to his numbers, illiteracy is one-third as large, his school attendance is twice as great, he employs twice as many teachers and librarians, he publishes five times as many books, and buys one-half as many lottery tickets as his Southern neighbors.¹ He earns higher wages, acquires citizenship sooner, is less turbulent, less criminally inclined, less transient than the South Italian and Sicilian immigrant.

Three-fourths of the large Italian immigration to the United States has come from South Italy and Sicily where the people have suffered long from economic oppression, low wages, and exorbitant taxes. The birth-rate in Southern Italy is very high and the density of population is exceeded in only a few places on the globe.

To the ordinary Sicilian, law and order have been

¹E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New*, p. 98.

symbolized commonly by the tax collector and the policeman. In Sicily, consequently, the peasant has often taken the law into his own hands. It has been said that to avenge one's wrongs one's self has been a part of Sicilian honor. Upon arrival in our country, the Sicilian is naturally distrustful of law and government. The American representatives of our government need to give the newcomers from Sicily and South Italy sympathetic impressions. Fear, dread, and suspicion of governmental officers need to be allayed as a first step in furthering the Americanization process.

Through his great love of art, and especially of music, the Italian immigrant has much to contribute to Americanism. He is very human. He is easily pleased and easily disappointed. He is always ready to inconvenience himself in order to do a good turn for some one else. He has a large sense of personal dignity. His good humor under stress of adversity is noticeable. But how far have we availed ourselves of these potentialities which are so much needed for the development of a well-rounded group of American traits.

A few years ago, in Ohio, an Italian mining camp came to have the reputation conveyed by the term, "Little Hell."² A veteran of the Civil War, learning of the nature of the labor camp, secured a talking machine, some records, bearing selections from Caruso and Tetrizzini, and some popular Italian airs, and going to the camp, set the phonograph in motion. He saw no "Little Hell," but "radiant faces

²Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration*, p. 274.

and appreciative souls." He was welcomed by warm hearts that were thankful for the sunshine that he had brought. "The music opened the camp," reports Dr. Peter Roberts, "and the old veteran of the Civil War won one of his most glorious battles when he brought that group of Italians into greater sympathy with America and Americans by the power of song."

What is true of Americanizing Italians through the appeal of art and of music, particularly, applies to other races which have more to offer America in the way of the beautiful and artistic than America possesses to give them. The new Americanism must not allow the mirth and song that the Italian and other immigrants possess to be crushed out in America by crowded tenements, unsanitary labor camps, and in the humdrum of daily toil.³

The Greek immigrant comes from Socrates' land. It was recently pointed out that the editors of two Greek dailies published in New York City bore the names of Solon J. Ulastos and Socrates Xanthaky. Thus, Solon and Socrates are at work even today molding the lives of young Greeks.⁴

The modern Greek is a direct descendant of ancient and glorious Greece. He is prone to indulge in the luxury of taking pride in his nation's wonderful achievements in centuries past. The opportunities for advancement in the United States, however, soon overcome the tendency of the Greek immigrant to rely overmuch on his racial heritage.

³*Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁴Thomas Burgess, *Greeks in America*, pp. 67, 68.

The passionate, quick-tempered, excitable nature of the Greek often causes misunderstanding in America. Where there are two Greeks, there are often three opinions.⁵ Loud talking, excited gesticulations, and a general commotion that seemingly will end fatally often prove to be nothing more than a friendly kind of conversation. Disorderly conduct on the part of Greeks is often due to their excitability.

The most significant Greek settlements in our country are in Chicago, New York, and Lowell. Sections of these and other cities are as Greek as Athens itself. The large preponderance of men—often there are not more than a few hundred women to several thousand men—creates moral problems. Absence from the influence of women and of home is an unfavorable condition.

In our large cities, the Greeks have captured several of the smaller forms of business. Shoe-shining establishments, fruit stores, candy kitchens, ice-cream parlors, restaurants, and hotels represent the business institutions through which the Greeks are meeting the minor wants of our urban populations. In America, the Greek gains economically, but often loses in health and domesticity.

The Greek brings to America valuable traits. He possesses a courtesy and hospitality that we Americans rarely show. His courtesy is born of centuries of world-renowned culture. The Greek's love of drama, music, and other fine arts is marked. But as yet, America has taken no general steps to preserve

⁵H. P. Fairchild, *Greek Immigration to the United States*, pp. 20ff.

these traits or to add them to and develop them as a part of Americanism. It is pathetic to listen to a group of Greeks in prison, whiling away an afternoon, singing to the accompaniment of a guitar.

The Greek in America is a "natural-born" patriot. His loyalty to the cause of freedom is magnificent. "We are natural patriots," said a Greek to the writer. "For five hundred years we lived under the sword of despotic Turkey," continued my friend, "and we know what freedom in America means. The American, having always lived in a land of freedom, does not appreciate its advantages the way we Greeks do."

CHAPTER XIII

THE SLAVIC IMMIGRANT

Slavs in America may be classified in five groups: Poles, Russians, Ruthenians, Czecho-Slovaks and Serbo-Croatians. Other immigrant races related to the Slavs, which will be discussed briefly in this chapter, are the Magyars, Lithuanians, Finns, Bulgarians, and Rumanians. The Poles have come to America in larger numbers than any other Slavic group. The Russian immigrants, relatively small in numbers, are important because of Russia's internal situation and international position. The Ruthenians are South Russians who have migrated chiefly from Hungary. The Czecho-Slovaks are the westernmost division of the Slavic Peoples. The Serbo-Croatians are the South Slavs who live in Southern Austria-Hungary and in the Balkan states.

Polish history is a rehearsal of one of Europe's greatest tragedies. The Poles were historically an enterprising, war-like race who built up an empire that was idealistic, that twice defeated Asiatic hordes which attempted to overrun Europe, and that at one time held an authoritative place in the councils of Europe.

Like other Slavs, the Pole is an extremist in temperament. As the individual, so the state. In the eighteenth century, Poland was comprised of several

million peasants and a few hundred thousand nobles, with no middle class, except as the Jews might be so considered. Internal dissensions between the widely divergent classes became rife and laid the country open to invasion on the part of greedy, land-hungry, autocratic neighbors. In the closing years of the eighteenth century Poland fell before the plotting of three imperial robbers, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Catherine the Second of Russia, and Maria Theresa of Austria. From 1815 to 1831 a new kingdom of Poland existed under the suzerainty of the Czar. But Poland was again crushed by the heel of Russian autocracy.

Poland was unable to rise again until 1918. In 1914, her divided territories were under control of Prussia, Russia, and Austria, respectively, and in a state of political spoliation; her people had been reduced to a state of political slavery, and industrial servitude. Because of these straits, the opportunities offered by America have drawn hundreds of thousands of Poles across the Atlantic.

Russian Poland is one of the most fertile regions of Europe, and one of the richest corn-growing districts of the world. In 1914, its chief city, Warsaw, had become the Birmingham and Sheffield of the Russian Empire.¹ But there was no self-government and even the use of the Polish language was forbidden. Russian Poland was a country in which there were approximately 10,000,000 Poles pinned to Russia by the sword.²

¹L. E. Van Norman, *Poland*, p. 124.

²*Ibid.*, p. 126.

Austrian Poland, or Galicia, with a population of about 5,000,000 in 1914, has been the only section of former Poland where the native language had not been suppressed. Its two leading cities are Cracow and Lemberg. The former is said to be the most characteristically Polish city in the world, with its magnificent cathedrals and the University of Cracow which shortly before the outbreak of the European War had celebrated its 500th anniversary; the latter is the center of the free-thinking liberals. Industrially and educationally backward, the Austrian Poles have never developed any special degree of loyalty to Austria.

In Prussian Poland, with Posen as its chief city, the 4,000,000 Poles were being gradually Prussianized, until the Polish language was suppressed and the lands of the Poles expropriated by the Prussian authorities. These and other arbitrary acts on the part of the government aroused the Poles to the fact that they were being Prussianized. Their hatred for Prussia developed rapidly. In 1914, the Polish situation had become the most serious internal Prussian problem. Polish newspapers in Prussia were reported to be maintaining two sets of editors, one to go to jail for writing seditious articles, and the other to go on duty *ad interim*.³ Polish Catholic priests were reported as teaching that even the good Lord does not understand German.⁴

Then came the War—and another Polish tragedy. These people of an honored but dismembered em-

³W. I. Thomas, "The Prussian-Polish Situation," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, XIX:635.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 627.

pire, living under oppressive conditions, were compelled to fight in behalf of their hated overlords and against their own Polish brethren. The Prussian and Austrian Poles were pitted, despite their wills, against the Russian Poles. Moreover, this intra-racial struggle had to be fought on their own Polish soil and at the expense of the destruction of their homes and property. Today, it is authoritatively said that scarcely a child under five years of age is alive in Russian Poland.

The outstanding trait of the Pole is his love of liberty. The role of the Polish knights of liberty is almost interminable. The Pole is not simply a defender of liberty; but boldly goes in search of opportunities to fight successfully for the cause. Witness Kosciuszko and Pulaski who came to help in the war for freedom in America. The latter gave his life in our behalf; and the former, years of valiant service for the sake of American independence. When Kosciuszko fell wounded while leading the ill-fated Poles in one of their uprisings against the Russian tyrants, the English poet, Campbell, gave immortality to the leading Polish characteristic in the words:

Freedom shrieked when Kosciuszko fell.

What patriot of any fatherland has ever raised a question so significantly loyal as that of the Polish Kraszewski who asked: "Can Heaven really be so grand as to make us forget Poland?"

At a banquet in New York City a few years ago, a Polish patriot declared: "Where liberty is, there

is my country." But a younger Pole more accurately expressed the Polish spirit, when he asserted: "Where liberty is not, there is my country." The Pole fights not simply for Polish liberty, but for the cause of liberty anywhere. He will travel half way around the earth rather than miss an opportunity to fight for freedom.

Polish love of art stands out strongly. In the field of music, Chopin's iconoclastic ideas cry out the tragedy of Poland. Paderewski, famous as a pianist, is greater as a Polish patriot. Then there is Madame Sembrich, of whom one critic has said: "She has as perfect a voice as has ever been heard on earth and used in connection with as perfect a technique," and Madame Modjeska, whose dramatic art was characterized by purity of aim and great force. In the field of scholarship, the leading figure is that of Nicolaus Koppernigh; and in letters, Henry Sienkiewicz, who out-towers all others in the place that he made for himself in the hearts of his countrymen of all three sections of dismembered Poland.

Where are the Poles in America? They are in the steel mills, the shops, and the mines, where they have borne opprobrious names patiently. America is unappreciative of the potentialities of Polish immigrants.

The Russian in America comes from Northern Russia, or Great Russia, the capital of which has been, successively, Moscow and Petrograd. The Great Russian possesses two strong but anomalous characteristics. He is noted for his laborious pa-

tience, great tenacity, and enduring strength. Climatic selection has developed in him a strong physique and the correlative mental traits of patience and tenacity of purpose. On the other hand, the Russian manifests a fatalistic attitude which rests upon an underlying spiritual faith and finds satisfying solace in the belief that "God wills it," whenever the defeats of life overwhelm the individual.

Many Russian immigrants in America formerly belonged to various persecuted religious sects in Russia. Some of these sects were opposed to militarism; after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) the immigration to America began. One of their greatest disappointments in our country is caused by the disintegrating effects of American life upon the family as a social institution. Their family life is patriarchal. When the children slip out from parental control and develop suddenly into pert young Americans without respect for their elders, the reactions of the parents toward the United States are unfavorable.

It is difficult for the Russian immigrant to understand our hurrying, restless attitude. His first reaction has been described as follows:

"Oh, I cannot live here, I am always late! Everybody runs ahead! The crowd on the street is so restless! Why are they hurrying so?"⁵

And his ultimate conclusion, if he thinks through the problem, is "that all the work of humanity should

⁵Maria Moravsky, "The Greenhorn in America," *Atlantic Mon.*, Nov., 1918, p. 663.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 669. Cf. E. A. Ross, *Upheaval in Russia*, Chaps. VI, XI-XIV.

be not a hurried job, undertaken for money, but a free, joyous, and thoughtfully slow Creation.”⁶

The Ruthenians, who were migrating to the United States at the rate of 30,000 annually in the years preceding 1914, are Russians. In Southern Russia, they are known as Little Russians. In those regions of Southern Russia which border on Austria-Hungary, they are called Ukrainians (Ukraine means “the border”). In Austria-Hungary they have been nicknamed “Ruthenians,” because of their ruddy complexion. They are the Southerners of the Russian peoples. They are “children of a more genial climate,” more indolent and less enterprising, more imaginative and less positive, more independent and less co-operative than the Great Russian.

Among their ancestors were the Cossacks (the famous cavalry of the Czars), who were the Kazaks (riders, or robbers) of the Middle Ages with a communistic and semi-military life. The Little Russians, or Ruthenians, contrary to the implications of their name, are slightly taller than the Great Russians. Ruthenian immigrants to America have come chiefly from Austria-Hungary whence they are glad to get away from oppression.

The Czechs, known to us popularly as the Bohemians, and Moravians, constitute the intellectual vanguard of the Slavic race. The Bohemians are the leaders, the Moravians the middle group, while the Slovaks represent a low state of economic development.

Bohemia, a diamond-shaped province, is “the brightest jewel in the Austrian crown” because of its

interesting population. Surrounded on three sides by Germany, it has been subject to German infiltration and influence. But recent decades have witnessed a remarkable change of attitude in Bohemia toward Germany. Widespread currents of unfavorable reaction had set in by the year 1900; in the University of Prague the use of the German language had given way to an extensive use of the Czech language.

Bohemians are liberty-loving. They have objected strongly to Austrian domination. What Washington is to the United States, Luther to Germany, Tolstoi to Russia, and Garibaldi to Italy, John Hus is to Bohemia. Hus sacrificed his life for his convictions concerning liberty, before any of the other leaders whose names are cited above. He was the pioneer among Reformation heroes. To the Bohemians, he is not known as a Protestant reformer, but as a heroic exponent of civil and political freedom.

Bohemians are nominally Catholics. Upon arrival in America, they become the least faithful of the adherents of the Church of Rome. They swing to the extreme, as an expression of their desire for liberty; they form free-thinking societies and profess semi-atheistic principles. Socialism is strong among them here, as it is in Bohemia, where several years ago the movement had reached proportions where it was strong enough to support two antagonistic parties, the national and the international. Bohemians in America are found not uncommonly in the skilled trades in which they have organized strong labor unions.

The artistic ability of the Bohemian is noticeable. The race receives too little recognition in this connection, for it has produced a composer of first rank, Dvorak; a soprano of the purest type, Emmy Destinn; and a violinist of world fame, Kubelik. How many Dvoraks, Destinns, and Kubeliks are lost to America and the world because we allow the Bohemian's abilities to go undiscovered in our free land, no one realizes.

The Moravians who live in the province that borders Bohemia on the east are closely similar to the Bohemians, but not as highly developed. Still further east, in Hungary, lies that undefined Slovakland where the meagre hill country is occupied by the Slovaks. The natural resources are scant and the political pressure rigorous by the Hungarian rulers. When less than two score years ago, the Slovaks learned of the possibilities of America, migration became the rule. A low economic status and Hungarian restrictive measures held the movement of population in check.

The Serbo-Croatians include the Servians, Croats, Slovenians, Slavonians, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Herzegovinians, and Montenegrins. The different names indicate territorial rather than racial divisions. The currently used term, Jugo-Slavs, or South Slavs, includes practically these same sub-groups.

Some of the finest specimens of physical manhood that have come to the United States in the past fifty years are found among Serbo-Croatian immigrants. The Dalmatians, for example, are often six feet in

height, well built, and possessed of an enduring physique.

The Serbo-Croatians profess various religious faiths, including the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, the Mohammedan. The religious divisions explain in part the sub-group feuds and dissensions which exist among the Serbo-Croatians in the homeland and which in America easily burst into flames. Superstition abounds among them. Wife-beating is a custom. The women are engaged continually in bearing or nursing children.⁷ Rugged strength and crude morality are the outstanding characteristics.

The Magyars, Mongolian in origin, live on an island, as it were, surrounded by Slavs. They number 10,000,000 and are described as "astute politicians and dashing military leaders," but careless in business as the Slavs who surround them.⁸ The Jews, on the other hand, have acquired the positions of business control; no other country has turned over its financial life to the Jews as largely as Hungary. At the time that the Mongolian Magyars were imposing their political leadership and their language upon the subject races, they in turn had been gradually adopting the social customs and manners of their Slavic environment. They are less stolid and more high-strung than the Slav. Their best-known leader and exponent of democracy was Louis Kossuth.

The Lithuanians, belonging to the Aryan stock, have lived for centuries north of Russian Poland in the territory bordering on the Baltic Sea. They

⁷Cf. E. A. Steiner, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*, pp. 187ff.

⁸J. R. Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 81; cf. Reports of the Immigration Commission, V:94ff.

number about 4,000,000. Courland is their chief city. Their political history became at one time a part of the history of Poland through intermarriage of the royal houses. Racially, however, the Lithuanians and Poles are quite different. The Lithuanians have suffered from Russian tyranny, but by virtue of living in a region partly covered by forests and swamps, they have been able to maintain their ancient customs and racial traits. Upon learning of America, they migrated hither in large numbers. More than 700,000 Lithuanians are in the United States.

The Finns, another of our important immigrant groups, are historically Mongolian. Centering at Helsingfors, they have served as a buffer between Russia and Sweden, and in 1918 they were being used as a catspaw by Germany. Wrested from Sweden in 1809 by Russia, governed by Russia in a remarkably democratic manner during the nineteenth century, the Finns in 1901 suddenly found themselves stripped of all self-government privileges. The Russian language was substituted for the Finnish and the Swedish languages. The Finnish army was abolished and its members scattered throughout the Russian army divisions. With this imposition of autocratic measures, the Finns began to migrate, large numbers coming to the United States. The Finns are democratically inclined. Equal suffrage was established long ago in Finland and socialism was extensively received.

The Rumanians are descendants of Roman soldiers who were stationed on the Danube. They are

of more nervous temperament than the Slav, whom they closely resemble in other particulars. The Bulgarians, although of Mongolian stock, likewise have become Slavic in type and customs.

The Slav, in conclusion, is humanity in the rough. The Slavic immigrant comes to America from one of the youngest races politically in Europe. He has scorned business activities as being undignified. He is unaccustomed to and unconvinced by Western ideas and appliances. He has struggled long and blindly toward the light of political freedom and industrial democracy. In America, we know him in the mass and far from his best. He learns of America's way, oftentimes and first, through the foreman's curses and the populace's epithets. Between Slavism in America and Americanism at its best is a broad, deep chasm which must be bridged by Americanization efforts.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HEBREW IMMIGRANT

Of the 12,000,000 Hebrews in the world,¹ approximately 2,000,000 live in the United States, 2,000,000 in Austria-Hungary, and 5,000,000 in Russia. The Hebrew population of New York City is estimated at 1,000,000, the largest congregation of Jews in one place in the world. New York City has a Jewish population today equal to that of ten Palestines. When one person of every five people in New York City's population of five million is a Jew and when the race is prominently represented in every community in the United States, it becomes necessary for Americans to study the history of the race, the reactions of the individual Jew to American life, and his potential genius.

Heber, or Eber, is a term which signifies the farther bank of a river. The Hebrews were named, perhaps, from the fact that they came from the farther bank of the Euphrates. The popular designation, Jew, is derived from the Hebrew word Jehudah, or Judah, son of Jacob. The name has had a religious significance.² The Hebrew language is read and written by many Jewish men and some Jewish women, but it is rarely spoken. Yiddish is

¹Estimated.

²In this chapter, the terms Hebrew and Jew will be used interchangeably.

the vehicle of conversation. It is a dialect which is sixteenth century German in its elements, with an admixture of the language of the country from which the given group of Jewish people come. Thus, among Russian Jews, Yiddish is perhaps 60 per cent German of the sixteenth century type and 40 per cent Polish or Russian. It is a dialect with few characteristics of a language.

The Hebrews have always been a migrating people. Out of Mesopotamia they came originally, and settled for a time in Palestine.⁸ Into Egypt they moved, and back again into Palestine under the leadership of their "exalted father," Abram. Three world religions trace their origins to Abraham (father of a multitude), as Abram came to be known, namely, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism. Thus, the name of Abraham is known and honored today more extensively even than that of Christ.

Into Egypt a second time, the race migrated. This time Moses, the world's first great labor leader, appeared to champion the cause of his people who had become industrial slaves and to direct them back to Palestine. In Palestine, their adopted home, the Hebrews developed a marked intellectuality, a profound spirituality which gave birth to Christianity, and an ethical code which has affected and molded Western civilization. Along with these constructive tendencies, there arose an excessive individualism which laid the nation open to internal dissension and foreign invasion and conquest. The fall of Jerusa-

⁸*Genesis*, Chap. XII.

lem did not occur, however, until Christianity had been founded and a new group of forces set in motion which have won the allegiance of Europe and America.

In the early centuries of the Christian Era, the Jews began to migrate anew. In the Middle Ages, we find them wandering throughout Europe, and congregating in Frankfort in larger numbers than elsewhere in the West.

Never having been agriculturists, but possessing a keenness of perception born of migration, the Jews seized the opportunities thrown open to them by the Catholic Church when it forbade the taking of usury, or interest in the current sense of the term, to members of the church. Outside the church, the Jews alone had the ability to develop the business of money-lending. Further, under the reign of feudalism the Jews had no rights except such as they might secure by bribing the feudal lords with money. Consequently and willingly, the feudal autocrats used the Jews as sponges to draw large sums of money from the already overtaxed masses. To get money, to pay the necessary bribes, the Jews themselves engaged in sharp practices and extortions. Driven to the limits of financial stress by the domineering lords, the Jews resorted to all types of financial trickiness in their dealings with the peasantry. In their ignorance, the people laid the blame for their oppressive conditions upon the Jews. But today, it is noteworthy, when modern Jews live for a time in an environment of fair play, they shake off question-

able financial methods and take a place among the most trusted members of the community.

With the awakening of the people in Europe in the time of the Renaissance, and the overthrow of the feudal kings, the Jews lost their means of buying self-protection. They were without rights. They were dependent on the mercy of the people which was nil. They became the victims of the prejudices of the masses. Consequently, the people expelled the Jewish race from various lands, beginning in England in 1290. The Jews were expelled in 1390 from France, and in 1493 and 1495 from Spain and Portugal.

In Teutonic Europe, however, political confusion obtained, feudal sovereigns remained in control, and the Jews continued to secure protection. Poland, in her anxiety to increase her population, invited the exiled Jews thither. As a result, the Jews congregated in the Germanic and Polish regions. When Poland was subdivided in the closing years of the eighteenth century, it contained the largest Jewish population of the world.

Then rose capitalism. With the development of business enterprise and the coming of the capitalistic régime, colossal opportunities opened, which the Jews with their centuries of financial training were quick to appreciate and to seize. By capitalism, the Jew was freed. In 1791, he was emancipated in France; in 1849 and 1858 in England; in 1860 and 1870 in Italy. In Spain and Russia, the Jew is still "in bondage." In Russian Poland his lot has been especially pitiful. He has tried to eke out an

existence, while being crushed between the fiendish persecutions of the state and the church above him, and of the infuriated and ignorant peasants beneath. He has been compelled to live in the Pale of Settlement—25 specific provinces out of 89 in Russia. Then in 1882, he was practically driven from the rural districts and villages within the Pale, and obliged to huddle in certain sections of the cities, or to live in cages within a cage.

For centuries the Jew has practically controlled the garment industry in Russia. In the Ghetto in Rome a century ago 75 per cent of the Jews were tailors. This racial habit has led the Jew into the garment trade in the United States and especially in New York City, where today he holds a practical monopoly of the manufacture of men's clothing.

In the name of Christianity in Russia, the Jews during a "pogrom" have suffered reckless destruction of property and have seen their children and aged parents murdered cruelly before their helpless eyes. The very name of Christian causes Russian immigrants to shudder. When they arrive in America their loyalty to Judaism is pronounced. They consider their own the oldest of all widely accepted religions and are likely to feel insulted when attempts are made to "convert" them to a newer religion, such as Christianity. To revile Judaism, they remind us, is to strike at the parent of Christianity. Unfortunately, the effect of America upon many Jews is that of de-Judaizing them without Christianizing them. "My father prays every day; I pray once a week; and my son never prays," is the state-

ment of a Boston Jew, which illustrates the effect of America upon the Jew's attitude toward religion. "You don't need to worry," said the leader of a group of Jewish lads to the director of the club from the Young Men's Christian Association, who was afraid that the boys might think that he would try to win them to accept Christianity, "we are all socialists." For many Jews, America has thrown their Jewish faith into disrepute without giving them a religious substitute. As a result, many have turned to intellectual socialism.

Another striking characteristic of the Jewish immigrant is his intellectual tendencies. This Hebrew trait has had a long history. Its origin is found in the patriarchal days of the Old Testament when special attention to the education of the children in the home had become an established custom. The migrations of the Jew from country to country have sharpened his wits and stimulated his intellect. His experiences under oligarchal rule and with the exigencies of continuous poverty have driven him to a wide-spread interest in and acceptance of socialism. When given an opportunity, his mental development is rapid. He attacks the "heavyweights" in economics and sociology with rapacious glee. He furnishes scholars in all branches of learning.

The Jewish immigrant exhibits a remarkable physical vitality and endurance. The birth-rate is high, and the death-rate is surprisingly low, even in squalid tenement districts. His length of life is much greater than that of the average American. His longevity is due, first, to the operation of the

law of biological selection. Only those individuals with marked endurance have been able to survive the dangers of a death-dealing environment; the race has descended from those who have stood the endurance test imposed by rigorous living conditions. The self-control of the Hebrew, in the second place, explains his longevity. Temperance and sobriety are correlative racial traits. His sanitary meat inspection and other hygienic customs, in the third place, are fundamental factors. A fourth reason is found in his sound home life. The interest of the parents in the care and training of the children gives them a favorable start in life. America today needs to go to school to the Jewish immigrant and make use of his methods of building up deep family affections, loyalty, and stability.

The Jewish immigrant shows a special interest in problems of social amelioration.⁴ His race has been noted for its humanitarian activities. Abraham showed a socialized spirit in his dealings with Lot. Moses led the first labor strike in the world. Amos, Hosea, the Isaiahs cried out bravely against social injustice. Seven out of the ten commandments are rules of social conduct. The Founder of Christianity made the love of man a test of one's love of God.

The orthodox Jews plan to re-establish themselves in Palestine when the promised "Messiah" comes. The "national" Zionists possess political

⁴In the United States the Jews have developed the best philanthropic organizations that we have. Modern criminology has been founded by Lombroso, and "scientific" socialism by Marx.

aspirations and expect to re-establish the Jewish nation. The "socialist" Zionists look forward to the creation of a socialist state in Palestine.

The Jew in America is what "centuries of persecution and oppression" have made him. Though generally defeated, he keeps on silently and defenselessly. He rarely turns back. Though generally suffering, he keeps on steadfastly. Though vanquished from time to time, he gathers up his scattered forces and pushes on. Though defeated again and again he has had the unique distinction of seeing his conquerors, proud kingdoms and mighty empires, crumble into humble dust. He ever rises with "eternal suffering" and "untiring patience" to confront his contemporaries with his hitherto insoluble problems.⁵

Many Americans understand nothing of the Jewish immigrant's history. We are totally unacquainted with his problems or we would not call him opprobrious names. In America, the Jew has found political liberty, economic opportunity, and intellectual freedom, but he is losing his religion which has kept him "alive, isolated, and protected as a race." This loss may mean his racial disintegration. The Americanization of the Jew must proceed upon the basis of an understanding of his vicarious sufferings and unsullied aspirations.

⁵Adapted from a quotation from L. E. Van Norman, *Poland*, pp. 263, 264.

CHAPTER XV

THE ASIATIC IMMIGRANT

Representatives of five Asiatic races have migrated to the United States. From Western Asia, the Syrians and Armenians have come; from Southern Asia, the Hindus; and from Eastern Asia, the Chinese and the Japanese.

The Syrian immigrant is a relative of the Hebrew. He is descended from the Semitic branch of the Caucasian people. Syrian migration to America was stimulated by the Centennial Exposition in 1876 when olive wood and other carved articles from Syria were introduced to the curio-fascinated public. Upon arrival in this country, the Syrian immigrant usually becomes a peddler, and later, sets up a small store. He belongs to the Christian faith, generally of the Greek Catholic type. His thirst for knowledge has been noted by many observers. He possesses the "Oriental memory." His intelligence is attested by the fact that a few years ago a population of 70,000 Syrians in the United States were supporting ten Arabic newspapers and magazines in this country.

The Armenian immigrant traces his ancestry to a primitive branch of the Aryan stock. For his form

of Christianity he claims a greater age than that of the Church of Rome. He has suffered indescribable persecutions, because of his loyalty to Christian beliefs. As in the case of the Syrian and the Hebrew, the horrors of persecution have cut deep into his nature. He is suspicious of strangers until their trustworthiness has been absolutely established.

The East Indian, or Hindu, began to migrate to the United States about 1900. By 1906, the annual figures exceeded one thousand. The small numbers were more than offset by the strange appearance, the peculiar customs, and the very low standard of living. The Hindus were so different from us and on such a manifestly lower plane of culture that it seemed as though assimilation was practically impossible. An unusually strict interpretation of our immigration laws was invoked. By virtue of their low industrial status and of their obvious difficulty in securing employment, it appeared that a large percentage of them would soon need to receive public aid. It was decided that the Hindu immigrants come within the scope of the clause, "liable to become a public charge," and hence a large percentage has been debarred. Consequently, Hindu immigration practically ceased. When the Hindu has applied for citizenship, the courts have disagreed over the question of racial origin. Many East Indians are of Caucasian lineage, and admissible; others are of Mongolian descent, and apparently ineligible to citizenship. The question of eligibility to citizenship needs to be clarified and put upon the

basis of individual merit and worth, rather than left upon the uncertain and accidental grounds of racial origin in prehistoric days.

The Chinese first migrated to this country about 1849, attracted by the prospects of work in the gold fields. Many thousands were imported by American mine-owners and other employers. They were used in large numbers in railroad construction, e. g., in building the western end of the first transcontinental railroad, which was completed in 1869. The high-tide year was 1882, when 39,000 Chinese came. At that time, about 130,000 Chinese were already here.

By 1882, however, a strong aversion to the Chinese had developed. They were charged with working for such low wages that Americans with their higher standard of living could not compete with them. Organized labor opposed them, because their presence in industry hindered the rise of or even lowered prevailing standards of living. They came without families and hence tended to degenerate. Immorality and gambling among them flourished. They returned to their own country after accumulating small sums of money; hence, they had no special interest in America except to earn money. They were exceedingly slow to assimilate, maintaining their language, religion, and other Chinese customs with tenacity. Their intermarriage with Americans was not feasible. There was danger that vast hordes would come.

Gradually, the anti-Chinese activities increased. The importation of Chinese coolie labor was for-

bidden in 1876. In 1882, immigration of Chinese labor, skilled and unskilled, was prohibited for a period of ten years. In 1892, this act was continued for ten years longer; in 1902, it was extended indefinitely. Further, in 1882, the Chinese on the basis of race alone were declared ineligible for citizenship.

According to the census of 1910, there were 71,000 Chinese in the United States as compared with 89,000 in 1900. The decrease is marked. In railroad maintenance work, the Chinese have been displaced by the Japanese, Mexicans, Italians; in agriculture, they have given way before the more aggressively active Japanese. There are still many Chinese, located in towns and cities, who are conducting small stores and laundries.

Is the Chinese problem in the United States settled? Probably so, as long as China remains a second-class nation. But recent events cast a shadow upon our Americanism. The same class of people who demanded the exclusion of Chinese labor on the Pacific Coast a few years ago were in 1918 when under stress of a shortage of labor, asking that Chinese laborers be admitted for stipulated periods of time, or so long as they have economic value to us. A disdainful attitude for the Chinese when they are not needed industrially and a cordial invitation when they are an economic asset puts the nation in a wrong light from the standpoint of China, and lends color to the charge that America is commercialized.

Further, when China becomes a powerful nation among the peoples of the globe, she will no longer acquiesce in being singled out as a nation whose citi-

zens, because they bear the name of Chinese, are debarred. No matter how worthy a Chinese laborer may be—skilled, Christian, gentlemanly—he is excluded from entry and from citizenship. But another laborer with fewer qualifications, e. g., from Mohammedan Turkey would be admitted. We cannot afford to allow our Americanism to fall below our professions of just and equal treatment to all nations and races. Least of all, must China, our sister republic, be singled out in this way—at a time when she is trying to educate her people to a recognition of the superiority of democracies over autocracies.

We cannot afford, it is true, to be overrun with Chinese immigrants, and especially of the unskilled laboring group. We can admit only that number from any race which we can assimilate within a reasonable time. Let the test for admission be high and on the basis of individual fitness to become American citizens, and then treat the representatives of all people alike and democratically. The standards for admission may be placed high enough so that we should not be flooded by any class of undesirable immigrants. But the exclusion of the Chinese from the United States on the adventitious fact of race, deliberately naming them, in view of present ethnological opinion, is hardly fair, or truly American.

The Japanese represent a mixed race that is scarcely more than fifty years removed from feudalism. The four main islands of Japan are mountainous and volcanic. Of the total area only 25 per cent is open to cultivation. This cultivable territory, one-

fourth the size of California, is feeding a population of 50,000,000 people. Several crops must be raised annually upon the same land, and woman labor, a seven-day labor week, and intensive agriculture must prevail in order to meet the enormous demand for food.

Japan possesses few natural resources. Her supply of iron, coal, and oil is almost nil. "Japan is a land without a surplus of anything except raw silk and brains." Besides pottery making, cotton spinning has been developed, but even the raw materials for cotton spinning must be imported. Agriculture has been an exalted occupation while commerce and trading have been treated with contempt—especially by the Samurai, the former military leaders of Japan. Commerce, bargaining, business, prevarication, and lying were considered as synonymous terms. To tradesmen it became honorable to lie in business. The traders who lied best succeeded most. It is thus easy to understand how Japanese immigrants in America in their business agreements have not always been trustworthy. But agriculture was free from "the sordid phases of commerce." Under the policy of exclusion, Japan was obliged to become self-sufficient. She faced famine unless the fields were cultivated assiduously; agriculture thus became a highly respected occupation.

Upon arrival on our Pacific coast with the prevalence of extensive farming and with valuable land not intensively utilized, the Japanese immigrant immediately makes use of the wide-open opportunities. He naturally employs his home customs, namely, in-

tensive farming, woman labor, long hours, a seven-day labor week. Because of these methods and of having a living standard that is lower than ours, the Japanese are able to drive out all competitors. Moreover, they write to their relatives and friends of the almost untouched (to them) agricultural resources of America. The desire to come hither becomes strong on the part of Japanese farmers.

Japanese immigrants came to the United States as early as 1869. The annual figures reached 100 in 1886, 1000 in 1891, and 10,000 in 1910. The census of 1910 shows that there were 72,000 Japanese in this country at that date, including 42,000 in California. The largest numbers are engaged in farming, truck-gardening, domestic service, small businesses, canning, and railroad maintenance.

According to the report of the recent Federal Immigration Commission, the Japanese have shown considerable capacity for adopting American customs.¹ They make earnest efforts to learn English, and they rank well as students.

The dislike for the Japanese assumed concrete expression in 1906 when the San Francisco school board attempted to segregate the Japanese school children. Shortly afterward the prejudice against the Japanese showed itself in the boycott of the Japanese restaurants in San Francisco. Recognizing the opposition to the Japanese on the part of California, the Federal government made an arrangement with Japan known as the "gentleman's agreement." According to this plan, Japan agreed to

¹Volume 23.

issue passports "only to such residents in this country (the United States) as were returning here, or were parents, wives, or children of residents of this country, or had already secured a right to agricultural land."² This agreement has been faithfully kept by the Japanese government, which wishes the Japanese to migrate, not to the United States, but westward to the mainland of Asia. Governmental influence in Japan has been thrown against migration to the United States.

In the legislature of the State of California in 1913, more than thirty bills were introduced, which were directed against the Japanese. The chief of these bills was the one which rigidly restricted the holding of land, through either purchase or lease by aliens ineligible to citizenship. Without mentioning the Japanese by name, the bill affected them chiefly. President Wilson sent his Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, to California to ask the legislature to delay action until the Federal government would have time to adjust the difficulties by negotiating with Japan.

But Governor Johnson replied and the legislature agreed that "an emergency exists which we would be blind if we did not see." Accordingly the bill was re-shaped and passed. The question may be raised, Did an "emergency" exist? A study of the conditions in California at the time legislative action was taken fails to show the existence of an emergency so dangerous that it had to be met before the Federal

²Travelers, officials, merchants, teachers, and students are also permitted to enter. There is a large number of wives and "picture brides" who have immigrated. They are laborers and potential mothers.

government could arrange a solution with Japan upon the basis of international justice and the welfare of California and the nation.

Japan protested against the anti-Japanese land law because the discrimination against the Japanese violated the spirit of the "gentleman's agreement." Our government replied that in this matter it had no jurisdiction. One of the states of the Union had passed a law offending another nation and the Federal government was helpless. Our government is thus put in a strange position: it makes an agreement or a treaty with another nation; one of our forty-eight states can pass a law directly opposed to the spirit of that agreement or treaty; the other nation protests; and our government replies that it is practically helpless. "The most important piece of legislation still waiting to be done in this country is the enactment of a law or laws, by constitutional amendment if necessary, that will put international affairs in the hands of the nation," declares James A. B. Scherer.³

The discriminatory alien land law should be repealed and non-discriminatory legislation substituted for it. The law should be made to apply to all aliens alike.

The Japanese situation in America also involves a change in our naturalization laws. We base citizenship qualifications, in part, upon the unscientific element of color. Moreover, we apply the color test unscientifically, for we admit the color extremes, white and black, and exclude the intermediate ele-

³*The Japanese Crisis*, p. 115.

ments. We now know that every race is a combination of several races and that it is impossible to state where one race begins and another ends. The same principle is true when applied to color. A better test for admission to citizenship is that of individual potentiality, worth, attitudes, ability. Modern psychological studies and tests have made it possible to define our standards in personal terms, and at the same time to safeguard our nation and the individual states against an influx of masses of undesirable immigrants. It thus becomes possible to repeal discriminatory admission laws, land ownership laws, and naturalization laws.

California is right in her desire not to be overcome by Asiatic hordes, but her solution of the problem is myopic. It ignores Japan's willingness to accede to the fundamental desire of California. It overlooks America's request for an open door in Asia and equality of opportunity for our citizens with that accorded to citizens of "the most favored nation."⁴

Our test for admitting immigrants can no longer be determined by our sympathies or our prejudices, but by considerations of personal fitness and international justice. It has been proposed by Mr. S. L. Gulik, that we admit immigrants from any nation not to exceed 5 per cent of those here and assimilated, from the given nation.⁵ Such a standard would admit annually only a small proportion of the Japanese

⁴Americans are not allowed to own land in Japan. But the law there is applied to all aliens alike.

⁵Described at length in *American Democracy and Japanese Citizenship*, Chap. VIII.

who are now coming in under our present objectionable laws. Mr. Gulick's test would be fair to Japan and actually lessen Japanese immigration, thus protecting California and the other interested states. The interests of California would be better conserved than at present and our Federal government would be put in a position of acting justly and democratically toward a neighboring nation. It is possible for Americanism to acquire such a flavor that it will incur the increasing suspicion of the nations of the Far East or to stress elements which will foster the good will and co-operation of Japan and China. May the latter tendency prevail.

The solution of the Asiatic problem in America involves nothing less than an appreciation of the relation of the East to the West, such as is found in the following classic statement by Inazo Nitobe:⁶

"It is said that the genius of the East is spiritual, mystical, psychical, and that of the West is materialistic, actual, physical; it is said that the forte as well as the fault of the East is religion and sentiment, and that of the West science and reason; it is said that the East delights in generalization and universal concepts, and the West in particulars and special knowledge; that the one leans to philosophy and ideas, and the other to practice and facts; that Oriental logic is deductive and negative, and Occidental logic is inductive and positive. It is also said that in political and social life, solidarity and socialism characterize the East, and individualism and liberty, the West; it is said again that the Asiatic mind is

⁶*The Japanese Nation*, pp. 11, 12.

impersonal and rejects the world, whereas the European mind is personal and accepts the world. The strength of Europe lies in the mastery of man over nature, and the weakness of Asia in the mastery of nature over man. In the land of the morning, man looks for beauty first and writes his flighty thoughts in numbers; in the land of the evening, man's first thought is for utility and he jots down his observations in numerals. He who watches the setting sun, pursues whither it marches, and his watchword is Progress and his religion is the cult of the future. He who greets the effulgent dawn is there-with content and cares not for its further course, but rather turns in wonderment to the source whence it came, hence his religion is the cult of the past. The matin disposes man to contemplation, the vesper hour to reflection. In the East man lives for the sake of life; in the West man lives for the means of living."

CHAPTER XVI

THE MEXICAN IMMIGRANT

In the Southwestern states, "the Mexican problem" has developed with rapidity since 1900. Because the Mexican immigrants represent the peon, or the mixed and least developed classes of Mexico, because they come from scenes of current oppression and revolution, because of the delicate international relations of the United States and Mexico, because of the untoward living conditions of the Mexican immigrants in the United States, and because of the chasm of misunderstanding which exists between Americans and Mexicans, no Americanization program is complete which does not include the Mexican immigrant problem.

Of Mexico's population of 10,000,000, it is estimated that 19 per cent are white (Spanish), 43 per cent are mixed bloods (Spanish and Indian with Negro admixture), and 38 per cent are native Indians. The process of amalgamation—mixture of races—is gradually taking place. Unlike the situation in the United States, the Indians are not dying out as an isolated race, but are contributing their qualities to a new Mexican race of Spanish and Indian origins. But a mixed race, living at the same time and in the same locality as the parent races always confronts a hard struggle. Recognition is reluctantly given to it; taunts and cries of shame are

heaped upon it. Mexican immigration to the United States is composed largely of these mixed bloods.

Socially, there are in Mexico but two classes: the rich, who are few in numbers, comprising less than 10 per cent of the population; and the poor, representing more than 90 per cent of the people. The rich are very wealthy, possessing large landed estates; the poor are living in conditions of squalor and ignorance. They live in adobe, or clay, houses with thatched roofs, dirt floors, and frequently a single room. It is this class which is being brought into the United States as immigrant labor. Centuries of oppression have broken the spirit and nearly destroyed the self-respect of this peon class.

The leading American agencies which have sought Mexican laborers are the railroad companies whose representatives have brought thousands of peons across the border. The Mexicans come with the idea of returning shortly; hence, the problems arising from a transient labor supply are common. They work as section hands and as unskilled laborers in railroad shops. Large numbers go into the farming districts as seasonal laborers. Between seasons they return across the border, or drift about the country, or hang around improvised "plazas" in idleness. The chief centers of Mexican immigrant population are in Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Southern Texas.

In our towns and cities, the Mexicans live in "shacks" or house-courts.¹ The living conditions of

¹The reader is referred to the present writer's article in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XXII:391-99.

the Mexicans in the City of Los Angeles, where 30,000 are congregated,² may be taken as illustrative of the Mexican immigrant situation. Of the 30,000 Mexicans in Los Angeles, 60 per cent live in two-room habitations and 25 per cent in one-room dwellings. The average rent paid for a two-room habitation is from six to nine dollars per month. The habitations are built of wood or adobe and front upon an inner yard which is not well drained, and which contains pools of water for a time after rains. In the inner yard are the wash-tubs and often the toilets, which are used in common.

Sixty per cent of the population are men. Seventy-five per cent still use candles for lighting purposes, only a small percentage burn gas, and none use electricity. Saloons and access to liquor have demoralized the Mexican more than has any other factor. The Mexican laborer is often shiftless and thriftless; his past environment has not stimulated him to be otherwise. Illiteracy runs high, perhaps over 50 per cent. Again, the chief responsibility rests upon the environment which has failed to train the Mexican and his ancestors. He is brought into our country as an unskilled laborer, works irregularly and seasonally, lives in unhealthy and unAmerican ways, and after drifting about, may settle in the United States permanently. When the average American sees him, the worst effects of his centuries of oppression are evident and his best qualities are hidden.

What is the United States doing to develop in him a love for our country? The question is equally

²An estimate.

vital, whether he stays with us, or returns to Mexico. Unfortunately, little is being done in an organized way to increase the love of the immigrant Mexican for the United States.³ To allow him to live in un-American conditions, without doing anything in a large-scale way for his welfare will not make a good American citizen of him, if he stays; and will not increase his respect for the United States, if he returns to Mexico. He is paid wages, but left to become a victim of shiftlessness or of revolutionary and anarchistic tendencies.⁴

When approached by Americans who are interested in him, not for the labor he can perform, but for the possibilities of development which he possesses, he reveals a longing and an ambition to strive for the higher things of life. Neighborhood school teachers and settlement workers who have really come to understand the Mexicans, speak as a unit in praise of them and of their fine potentialities. A small Mexican girl said to a housing inspector in Los Angeles: "When people pass by in their autos, we feel ashamed for them to see us living in these old shacks. Can't you make the boss fix them?" This girl who was attending the public school had become acquainted with girls who had better homes than her own, and she was sad, because she could not have the pleasure of inviting her schoolmates to her home.

³Many public school teachers, on their own initiative, and settlement and religious workers are helping to educate the Mexican immigrant and to give him the American point of view.

⁴For a further explanation of this point, see the article by J. Blaine Given, the *Survey*, August 3, 1918, pp. 491-93.

Shall the children of Mexican immigrants—children who will grow up to be American citizens—be reared in shacks, without adequate home care, without play space, without protection from habitations infected with tubercle bacilli, without proper nutrition, without being safeguarded from the vices lurking in dark alleys and streets?⁵ An Americanization program for Mexican immigrants includes a wholesale extension of the attitude of helpfulness toward and of understanding of them, the establishment of wholesome living conditions for them, and public adoption of the home teacher method of taking constructive American ideas and standards into all their habitations and changing these into places fit for the rearing of American children.

⁵Bishop J. J. Cantwell in an address before the California State Conference of Social Agencies, (April, 1917), expressed the belief that it is necessary to do more for the Mexican than allow him to live in the barn with the horse and cow.

PART FOUR

METHODS OF AMERICANIZATION

CHAPTER XVII

AMERICANIZATION: THE NATIVE-BORN

The nature of American traits has been stated; the main facts upon which to base an Americanization program have been presented. Americanism has been defined as a group of principles signified by four sets of terms; liberty and self-reliance, union and co-operation, democracy and the square deal, internationalism and brotherhood. The cultural backgrounds and personal attitudes of the leading native-born and foreign-born groups living in America have been analyzed.

Americanization is the process of unifying all peoples residing in the United States in support of the set of ideals which constitute Americanism.¹ The central core of Americanization consists in the methods for working out a perfected democracy in our country. The attainment of this goal involves a thorough understanding of a democratic attitude in all its phases, organized methods of in-

¹See the initial pages of Chapter I for a statement of the various definitions of Americanization.

struction which will reach our entire population concerning the full meaning of democracy, and conscious and continuous everyday efforts on the part of Americans to realize in their living the principles of a perfected democracy.

For many years, Germany knew definitely the principles upon which she wished to stake her future. She labored methodically to instil these principles into the minds of all her people through the governmentally controlled educational system. Through semi-socialistic programs of building up the welfare of the common people, she developed an inordinate degree of group loyalty, or patriotism. She established a consciously planned and highly perfected autocracy.

Upon the basis of an opposite type of principles, democratic in nature, the United States is struggling forward, but with her aims not always clearly defined or understood. Consequently the imperfections in our democracy have been many and the wastage appalling. Our efforts to attain a democracy have often been made unconsciously, inchoately, and spasmodically. The time has now arrived when we should set about the task through educational methods of consciously constructing a state, not upon the theory that might is right, or that "der Staat ist Macht," but upon the contrary ground that right is might and that human personality is sacred. Instead of the individual existing, being fed, and being trained for the state, the state must exist and prosper for the development of the largest freedom of human personalities that is compatible

with group progress. "From an imperfect to a perfected democracy" must be our slogan.

The work of the United States Food Administration under the direction of Mr. Herbert Hoover serves as an excellent illustration of the problem involved in perfecting an imperfect democracy. When the first rules of the Food Administration were announced, the democratic principle was adopted of invoking the free response and co-operation of the people. Two obstacles stood in the way: (1) that of informing all the people promptly; and (2) that of overcoming the imperfect spirit of democracy existent in the country. A phase of the first problem was the lack of a common language and the inability of millions of our people to read at all. Newspaper media, thus, could not be used with entire effectiveness. With a score or more of languages being used in each of the large cities, with a total of eight million foreign language readers who could not read English, with nearly three million illiterate adults, the first need of an Americanization program stood out with blazing clearness, namely, to teach all the people to read, and to read a common language, the English.

The second difficulty was the tendency of many people to show a lack of confidence in the Food Administration, to question its rules, to whine against the enforcement of its requests, and worst of all, to violate secretly its regulations. The need for a socialized national spirit was never so urgent. If all the people could have visualized with sufficient clearness the food needs of the Allies and the

way in which our Food Administration was planning to meet that need, the response would have been so immediate and so overwhelming that the world would have known that at last a highly perfected democracy had been established on earth. As it was, the reliance of the Food Administration upon the democratic principle of voluntary co-operation was so successful that the necessary food was conserved and delivered to the Allies in a way that amazed the world.

Another democratic principle for which the Food Administration has successfully stood is that "most is required of those most able to give." Wealthy and well-to-do people were asked to conserve and to give, while those at or below the mere existence level were not urged so strongly.

By the opposite token, suppose that no one had respected the regulations from the Food Administration, what would have occurred? The alternative measure would have been compulsion, resort to heavy punishments, and the use of the autocratic principle. In a time of national crisis, there are but two ways open, voluntary co-operation, or governmental compulsion. The choice lies with the people and is based upon their underlying attitude of mind—if they live in a democracy. If the reaction to large national needs is prompt and universal, a perfect democracy has been attained. But such a reaction means that the masses have all had the advantages of education and have acquired a socialized viewpoint through education.

The first step in our Americanization plan may now be stated. The need of a Department of Education in our national government, with a representative in the Cabinet is undeniable. The welfare of cattle and swine has long had representation at the President's table of counselors, but the education, unification, Americanization, and socialization of our people are still without a direct spokesman in the cabinet. Education, which releases and develops the spiritual forces of a democracy, is still taken care of by a Cabinet member who at the same time must burden his mind with several other important phases of national life.

Granted the establishment of a Department of Education, the building up of a Bureau of Americanization within that department would naturally follow. In the past, the Americanization work has been left in the hands of several division directors at Washington, with a natural lack of unity, continuity, and hence of adequate success.

At the present writing (February, 1919), there is an Americanization Division under the supervision of the Bureau of Education (Department of the Interior). The Division is directed by Fred C. Butler. A sixteen page monthly publication was established by the Division in September, 1918. In January, 1919, co-ordination of the work of the Americanization Division and of the Bureau of Naturalization was effected. The activities of the former will center upon the general education and assimilation of the foreign-born; the jurisdiction of the latter will be confined to the foreign-born who

have signified an intention to become citizens. It is the plan of the Director of Americanization to name regional directors and to organize the states and the communities. With the establishment of a Department of Education, the work of Americanization could be honored by the creation of a special Bureau.

One of the first tasks of a Bureau of Americanization would be to make a careful survey of the history and nature of Americanism. The constructive principles thus far worked out in American history must be determined, the character of present-day American ideals must be analyzed, and the more certain tendencies outlined. America must consciously direct her progress, on the basis of past and present experiences and future outlook, along democratic and socialized lines. And as every practical business man projects his business policy into the future and then works to that end, so must American standards be projected and followed up.

To that end, we must all be educated. The public schools, the churches, the press, and motion pictures are the leading media for carrying the details of the principles of Americanism to the people. Americanization must begin, in the first place, with the average American. The rank and file of the native-born are not versed in the full history or meaning of our ideals of liberty, union, democracy, and brotherhood. The teaching of American history must be revised to set forth first of all the evolving principles of democratic American life. The study of American literature must be made

from the standpoint of the principles of democracy; and then required of every public school pupil. American literature is an excellent mirror of the rise and growth of our spirit as a nation. Let us place side by side the "Mayflower" compact and President Wilson's Message to Congress on April 2, 1917, and note and teach the growth in America's conception of democracy.

Our whole system of public and private instruction should be permeated with such corollaries of democracy as:

1. No private gain at the expense of the public welfare.
2. The social necessity of sound family life.
3. The potential equality of races.
4. The harmfulness and hatefulness of race-prejudice.
5. Not, my country, right or wrong; but, my country always in harmony with the principles of social justice.
6. As the individual and the family subordinate themselves to national needs, so the nation must subordinate itself to international needs.

In the next place, Americanization must not overlook the situation of the American Indian. After the Americanization of average Americans, it is logical that attention be given the original Americans. It was the Indian's misfortune that his culture was so different from ours that the assimilation

processes could not operate naturally. The alternative has taken the form of misunderstandings and antagonisms. Race pride has been rampant—mutually. Extermination of the weaker by the stronger race has been taking place, under the blind operation of natural laws. A consciously and wisely directed program can stem this untoward tide, and halt and modify the processes of nature. Education can be taken by the government to the Indians in their homes. By sympathetically and patiently building upon and modifying the Indian's culture and by bridging, in this way, the chasm between the Indian's civilization and ours, the Indian can be saved to Americanism. Our entirely different culture must not be given him or his children in isolated and bulky sections. Education must assist the Indian in making a gradual change from the hunting stage to the agricultural stage of civilization. He must also be given a uniform political status. His possibilities of religious growth are excellent, for he already believes in a Great Spirit and immortality, but the methods must be evolutionary and not revolutionary. A genuinely social recognition must be afforded him. The distance between Indian and American civilization must be bridged, not by the domination of the weaker by the stronger race, but by the union of the two civilizations, in which are combined all the good qualities of both: the result will be a set of newer and better American standards.

C In regard to the American Negro, Americanization must eliminate the hiatus between the Negro's level of culture and ours. Then must come an alle-

violation of the prejudice due to differences in appearance and status. Education will raise the Negro from an untrained level through agricultural efficiency, domestic training, industrial and trade skill to the higher levels of thought and action. With this progress, the Negro must inhibit any desires to boast that he may have. Even rightful desires of that kind must be suppressed, if he would contribute his share to the dying out of race prejudice. He must allow his personal worth and social achievements to speak their vital message to the white race. The choice of the lesser evil must be made, namely, to allow many Negro achievements to go unnoticed by prejudiced eyes rather than to aggravate race prejudices by boasting.

Americanization of the Negro places a burden upon the whole nation, upon white as well as black, upon North and South. Whenever Negroes struggle honestly and in good faith up through the mists of an unorganized culture and over the rocks of a strange and at times unsympathetic higher order—as they all must be taught to do—the white man everywhere and always must translate the spirit of “the square deal” into action.

The task of Americanizing the Appalachian mountaineers is to advance them from the eighteenth or nineteenth century to the twentieth century intellectually. They must likewise be educated in regard to their understanding of Americanism. Agricultural, domestic, and religious education must be carried into the mountain regions in large-scale ways. Let the mountaineer be stimulated to transform his

own environment instead of startling him into distrust by the predatory whistles of an outside civilization, which has come, he thinks, to upset completely his established order and to destroy his home, leaving in its wake the disheveled remains of hastily dismantled forests. Americanization of the highlander means socializing his intense individualism. Again, education—socialized, of course—will be the instrument. When the mountaineer learns to use modern appliances, to develop his environmental resources, and to build complex social institutions, he will become more American. Education will bring him into accord with the present levels of American life and at the same time enable him to develop his mountain domains himself, which will give him a sense of partnership in the spirit of America.

CHAPTER XVIII

AMERICANIZATION: THE FOREIGN-BORN

There are two groups of the foreign-born, the Asiatics and the Europeans, which must be considered in the light of Americanization. The relation of the first-mentioned peoples to Americanization has been indicated in detail in Chapter XV. By way of re-statement it may be said here that the presence of the Oriental in America raises the problem of bringing together two civilizations which in many ways are opposite in character. An added perplexing element is that of international complications. At this point, Americanization no longer involves chiefly intra-national issues, but takes on an international import. It must be based on no short-sighted type of Americanism. Our admission, land-ownership, and naturalization laws must all be revised and rewritten on the basis of treating all self-respecting foreign peoples alike, and of guaranteeing our own protection by making the standards high, and by putting them on the basis of personal merit, and of assimilative ability.

Americanization of the European immigrant may well begin in the steerage.¹ The "old type" of steer-

¹There are those who advocate consular inspection and certification of persons who are fit to enter America, but the plan involves serious practical difficulties of operation.

age with its humanly unfit sanitary conditions should be prohibited.² All immigrants should be allowed to come only in the "new type" of steerage, where living conditions are fairly satisfactory. In the "old type" of steerage, the immigrants are subjected to an environment so unhealthful and at times so immoral for a period of ten to fifteen days as to form the worst possible introduction to America. Nowhere on earth are human beings housed under such vile conditions.

With the adoption of the "new type" of steerage as the universal means of immigrant conveyance to America, provisions should be made for federal inspectors, both men and matrons, to travel in the steerage of all immigrant carrying ships. Talks and illustrated lectures concerning America, the language, the nature and value of American money, types of work in America should be given. The immigrant will thus take a long stride toward understanding America. He will be able to protect himself against exploitation when he arrives here. He will be helped to make the necessary adjustments and assisted in adopting American principles.

The "contract" labor rules for admission of immigrants should be changed. The Canadian rules are superior to ours. Instead of following the principle of debarring aliens who apply for admission in consequence of labor agreements, "oral, written, or printed, expressed or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled," we

²A first-hand, authentic description of the "old type" steerage is given in the Reports of the Immigration Commission, Volume 37.

should adopt the Canadian principle of admitting only those skilled and unskilled immigrants who have promise of work. At present they suffer from periods of unemployment; or they must perjure themselves in order to be admitted. An immigrant may of course swear that he has no promise of work even when such promise came in a letter from America from a brother or other close relative. In fact, if he comes on the strength of such assurance, as large numbers do come, he must swear that he has no promise, and thus perjure himself, in order to be admitted at all. But what an unfortunate situation is created. The immigrant, thus at the very introduction to American life, is indirectly taught to disrespect our American laws. To require a promise of work from unskilled and skilled laborers would create problems, but these could be handled by the Commission General of Immigration, in ways similar to the successful Canadian methods. A national uniform minimum wage law would go far toward protecting the immigrant against innocently agreeing to work for less than living wages in this country.

In the reports of the Immigration Commission, an important incident is described, which shows the difference between the Canadian and our laws in regard to the promise of work requirement for admission. An immigrant applied for admission to the United States at Quebec. He had been told in a letter from his brother in one of the Western states that the brother could probably get him a job if he would come. On the strength of this assurance, he came, and so informed the immigration official, who,

doing his duty, enforced the contract labor clause and debarred the man from entry. The man then went to the Canadian immigration station in Quebec and applied for admission to Canada. When asked if he had had any promise of work in Canada, he promptly replied in the negative. And the Canadian officer, enforcing the Canadian rule that any one without promise of work should not be admitted, refused the man entry to Canada. In one case, the man was debarred because he had work "in sight"; in the other, because he did not. Both methods are beset by evils to be sure, but the Canadian is undoubtedly the better.

In general, the requirements for admission to America should be made upon the uniform basis of the personal worth and potential ability of the applicant and upon opportunities for him to become assimilated and Americanized readily. Mr. S. L. Gulick's idea of admitting from a given nationality only a small percentage—perhaps five per cent—each year of those from that nationality who are already in America and assimilated appears to be a satisfactory principle. The time has come—in normal years—when we cannot admit to America all who wish to enter. We have so many poor of our own, and our economic order is not working so justly that we can admit all the poor and oppressed who wish to migrate hither. We can open our gates only to that number annually which we can assimilate and Americanize—otherwise Americanism will be subject to disintegration from forces operating within. If there are, for example, 1,000,000 Italian

men here and none are assimilated, then we cannot afford to admit others. But if they are all assimilated, then we shall be able to Americanize, perhaps, 50,000 men per year from Italy. This principle is based upon the fact that an immigrant always comes to his own people racially or nationally, in this country. If they are not Americanized, his chances in that direction are slim; but if they have become Americans, he will become so in a short time.

In the rough, the literacy test works fairly well as a rule of admission, for it debar those who are most likely to be exploited, to suffer industrial accidents, to earn inadequate wages, to fall into poverty, and to remain unassimilated. On the other hand, the literacy test is not a criterion of personal worth, of potential ability, or of ultimate capacity for Americanization. It is a test, primarily, of lack of educational opportunities in the given European province in which the alien was reared. It acts as a penalty for not having had educational advantages. These objections are so vital that it seems that more scientific tests of admission should be substituted for the mere ability to read. Educational psychologists have prepared standardized tests for getting at one's mental keenness and for showing one's potential mental ability. As soon as these tests may be applied to large numbers of individuals quickly, they should be substituted for the crude literacy test.

Our Americanization program must provide for government protection of immigrants within the country. Federal inspectors—both sexes—should

be placed on immigrant trains. Federal immigration halls are needed in our large immigrant cities, where the railroads might be required to deliver immigrants and where immigrants might stay at least twenty-four hours, without charge, if need be, and where directions would be given them in locating relatives. In connection with the Federal immigration halls, Federal labor exchanges should be operated, so that immigrants on first arrival, or later, might be assisted in getting industrially adjusted.

Federal distribution of immigrant labor must be promulgated. To leave aliens to congregate in large "slum" districts is tantamount to nullifying the assimilation processes. The "slum" is the worst possible Americanization school. There the immigrant sees America at her worst, and there the American casts pitying if not disdainful eyes at the immigrant. Immigrants resent being treated as a menagerie of "lower brethren from below the zoological line." Adequate distribution of the alien would give him daily contacts with some of the best things in America and regularly with the average phases of American life, rather than with the baneful phases.³ Industrial adjustments would speedily follow the proper distribution of immigrants, and processes of assimilation would automatically be speeded up. For many years, immigration has flooded

³An impracticable but interesting plan that has been mentioned in this connection, is to establish a zone of a hundred miles' radius around the largest ports of entry and to admit no alien who cannot show a railroad ticket to some point outside the given zone.

the already overcongested urban centers of population; but a governmental policy of distribution, supported by educational measures, would in time solve many of our most serious immigration problems.

New life and content need to be put into the naturalization process. The five years preceding naturalization are often not a period of real preparation for citizenship. Oftentimes, the immigrant lives and works in crowded conditions without being noticed or encouraged by the best Americans, struggles ultimately through the naturalization process, and becomes a citizen without proper fixation of American principles and attachments. The naturalization standards may well be raised, but some of the hardships of becoming naturalized are totally unnecessary and unwise and should be removed. It is often necessary for the alien to appear in court four times, twice in filing his papers of intention and twice in getting the final documents. Both times he must have the same two witnesses. The loss of wages to himself and to his witnesses is a significant matter. Wages ought not to be cut off when the employee is absent for purposes of naturalization. Some courts hold night sessions for the benefit of the immigrant—a method which should be extended. Likewise, the bureaus of naturalization might well hold night sessions.

Upon receiving his naturalization papers, the immigrant should be made to swell with pride and to vow to himself to contribute something to American ideals. The Americanization Day plan should be extended and standardized. Upon one day

each year—perhaps the Fourth of July—all persons who have become citizens within the past twelve months and who live in a given community should come together at a public meeting, where leading citizens might extend the right hand of American citizenship to them, when speeches of a patriotic nature might be given by both old and new citizens, when all might join in patriotic singing, and when the new citizens might feel the virile pulsations of the heart of America.⁴

Our unscientific methods are shown in the way in which suffrage was granted to the women of New York. There were over 200,000 women in that state who were made citizens merely because their husbands were naturalized. Practically none of these women had received any training for citizenship. At least 100,000 of these new women citizens do not speak English. Many are unable to read or write. Very few are fitted to vote on national issues. The rational process of preparing persons to exercise the privileges of suffrage was ignored. A foreign-born woman should become an American citizen in her own thoughts and ideals, and not simply by marrying a man who is an American. American ideals need to be carried to foreign-born mothers in their own habitations. Real Americanization is as important for the adult foreign-born women

⁴Americanization Day ceremonies give a new and wholesome content to our hitherto often meaningless and noisy Fourth of July "celebrations." They have been successfully conducted in many American cities. It has been well suggested that the native-born who have become citizens during the twelve months preceding the Americanization Day should join in the exercises.

as for the men, but the night school and the school-in-industry do not reach the foreign-born mothers. Again, we arrive at the conclusion that American standards must be carried into the homes of the foreign-born by visiting teachers who are furnished by the public school system. And again, it becomes clear that there is a great need for a corps of adequately paid teachers who shall make the teaching of foreigners a permanent vocation.

The opportunities for American patriotic societies are magnificent. The Daughters of the American Revolution have begun to establish clubs for foreign-born children. The Sons of the American Revolution have published leaflets to present American ideals to the immigrants. The full possibilities have not yet been realized. What more patriotic work could be undertaken by a patriotic society than the devotion of its energy and money to the development of American ideals in the hearts and minds of everyone who lives in the United States? What a splendid opportunity exists for our patriotic societies to join with the many national alliances of the foreign-born in America in the promulgation of a nation-wide devotion to the principles of liberty, union, democracy, and brotherhood!

The Americanization program must co-ordinate and augment the Americanizing activities that already have been undertaken by public and private agencies. The work of various Federal agencies, of the public schools, the churches, the settlements, and of many private associations has not been unified. Experimental plans must be inaugurated and

fostered, and successful plans should be put into practice widely. Immediate and widespread adoption should be given promising measures, for example, the plan that the Young Men's Christian Association had actually begun to put into operation when the European War broke out. Groups of Y. M. C. A. workers were to be stationed at European points of embarkation to assist immigrants to get started for America, and to extend an American welcome. In the steerages of the ships were to travel other groups of Y. M. C. A. Workers who were to assist and give preliminary instructions to the immigrant. At the American ports of entry were to be located a third contingent of workers, upon immigrant trains a fourth, and at interior industrial centers a fifth group. Thus, immigrants could travel from the European ports to an interior American city under the continuous protection and assistance of the Young Men's Christian Association.

Another excellent plan was the lecture course on Americanization that was given by the Immigration Department of the Young Men's Christian Association of San Francisco in the summer of 1918. The lecturers on Americanization were not the native-born but the foreign-born leaders. The Jugo-Slav, Greek, Japanese, Italian, Jewish, Russian, Portuguese, Armenian, and Scandinavian races were thus represented. As exceptions, the speakers for the Chinese and the Mexicans were Americans. The chief interest was not what these foreign-born groups needed from America but what they possessed of value that they could build into American-

ism. The philanthropic desire to help the poor immigrant is reported as being "refreshingly absent."⁵ Its place was taken by the immigrants' desire to be self-reliant and to give as well as to receive. The impression grew that even Americans who had been talking of Americanization might profitably give more of their time "to broadening the minds of our American adults and children," until no one was left who conceived Americanization as an imposition of our set of ideas upon the racial groups who come to us to give and to share. It became apparent that a phase of Americanization consists of "a distillation of the purest ideals of all those peoples who come to us."⁶

Another splendid idea is represented by the American House, Cincinnati. This unique institution was formerly a saloon, where immigrants were exploited; it has now become a club house for immigrants where Americanization automatically takes place, under the direction of such Americans as R. J. Condon, George Eisler, and other public-spirited citizens of Cincinnati. The institution is worthy of being developed throughout the United States.

The social settlements in America have stood forth like isolated Statues of Liberty in oppressive urban districts, and have personified the spirit of true Americanism to the freedom-hungry children of the Old World. Many churches have carried the principle of human brotherhood in practical

⁵All Americanization work should leave out the patronizing tone toward the immigrant.

⁶See the *Survey*, August 24, 1918, p. 596.

ways to the immigrants and have demonstrated that Christianity has in its spirit the power to solve all race and immigration problems. If America were to appeal to the spiritual and religious nature of the immigrants to the degree that she has appealed to their physical abilities in the development of her natural resources, they would undoubtedly respond in a manner that would add tremendously to the spiritual backbone of America.

One of the greatest tasks, perhaps the greatest, of Americanization is to overcome race prejudice. Each racial unit develops the unscientific belief that it is the superior race—and each race is wrong. Scientific data indicate that all races are potentially more or less equal, that present racial differences are due largely to the variations in the cultural and climatic environment, and that there is an essential unity of races. Race prejudice causes one to overlook the weaknesses of one's own race and to magnify those of other races. It blinds its victims to the best qualities of other races, it calls the doctrine of human brotherhood mere moonshine, and it paralyzes the processes of assimilation. Race prejudice against the foreigner, race prejudice between racial groups in America, and race prejudice of the foreign-born against the native-born must all be overcome.

CHAPTER XIX

AMERICANIZATION: THE FOREIGN-BORN (Cont.)

The most important of all measures in behalf of the immigrant is education. The immigrants should have the opportunity of realizing the importance of being able to use the English language. It should become common knowledge that the foreign-speaking but uneducated immigrant is exploitable raw material, and that he is often exploited until he cannot pull himself out of his lowly condition. When he learns English, he reaches a level where he can assist himself.

The present educational provisions are far from adequate. Although there are about 2,500,000 illiterate adult immigrants in the country, there never have been at most more than 50,000 in the night schools at a given time. Further, only 60 per cent of the adults who enroll in night classes are induced to stay as long as 20 nights; only 10 per cent remain 60 nights.

In the two school years of 1914-1915 and 1915-1916, the writer directed an intensive study of 140 representative adult immigrants in the night schools of Los Angeles.¹ Seven university students² who

¹The complete results were published in the *Western Journal of Education*, August, 1917.

²These students were Messrs. R. E. Pollick, Ross Hodson, Errol P. Jones, and the Misses Irene Mills, Cecilia Irvine, Bessie Hoagland, and Blanche Hood.

were teaching adults in the night schools secured the data.⁸

The following questionnaire was used:

1. Sex? Race? Age? Occupation?
2. How much public education did you receive in the home country? How much private education?
3. Why did you come to the United States? To Los Angeles?
4. How many years have you lived in the United States? In Los Angeles?
5. What political party do you favor? Have you taken out first papers? Second papers?
6. What is your religious attitude?
7. How was your attention called to the night school?
8. Why are you attending the night school?
9. How may the night school be improved?
10. What is the attitude of your employer to the night school?
11. How may others be interested in the night school?
12. What would you do in the evening if not in the night school?

⁸The facts which are herein tabulated and analyzed were secured indirectly from the immigrant by the teacher, e. g., while the teacher was giving the adult pupil personal instruction in English or civics, he or she secured the facts and the pupil's viewpoint upon the questions which are discussed in this paper. It frequently took the investigator a month to secure the answers to all the questions from a given pupil and to verify these answers through the use of the cross-question method.

Of the 140 immigrants, 103 were men and 37 were women. The majority of the entire group belonged to three racial groups, namely: Italian (33), Serbo-Croatian (24), and Mexican (23). The remainder included Germans (7), Jews (6), Englishmen (6), Greeks (4), Magyars (3), Negroes (3), Spaniards (3), Russians (2), Poles (2), Bohemians (2), and others of mixed racial parentage (22).

Table I. Public and Private Education in Home Country

<i>Years</i>	<i>No. of Immigrants Receiving Public Education</i>	<i>No. of Immigrants Receiving Private Education</i>
None	45	125
1 year or less.....	11	7
2 years	12	1
3 years	11	1
4 years	16	1
5 years	5	1
6 years	19	1
7 years	8	0
8 years	6	2
9 years or more.....	4	0
No answer	3	1
Total	140	140

The ages varied from 15 to 40. The modal, or most common, ages, were 24 and 25 years. The classification by occupation gives the following results: skilled (52), unskilled (50), housework (19), business (6), clerical (5), agriculture (4), student

(1), and unclassified (3). It will be noted that the unskilled workers compose more than two-thirds of the entire group. In the skilled class were found machinists, painters, carpenters, shoemakers and tailors. The business group refers chiefly to peddlers of fruit, and pool hall owners. The housework section is composed, of course, of the women immigrants.

Table I shows that over one-third of the entire group had received no public or private education in the home countries. Very few had received an education equivalent to that given in the American grade schools.

Table II. Reasons for coming to the United States and to Los Angeles

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Numbers to United States</i>	<i>Numbers to Los Angeles</i>
Economic	66	41
Came with relative.....	21	34
Came to relative.....	18	30
As an adventure	12	---
To escape compulsory military service	11	0
For educational reasons	5	1
For climatic and health reasons	1	17
Unclassified	6	1
Total	140	140

The various reasons for coming to the United States and Los Angeles are given in Table II. The

economic reason (to make more money) is an outstanding factor. The immigrants who migrated with relatives include many who came as children and adolescents.

Seventy-two, or about one-half, had lived in this country five years or less, and the remaining number, 68, had been in the United States more than five years. One hundred and six had lived in Los Angeles five years or less; 34, more than five years.

Table III. Political Attitude.

<i>Political Attitude</i>	<i>Number</i>
Indifferent	62
Interested, but non-partisan.....	27
Democrat	12
Socialist	10
Republican	4
Progressive	2
Refused to answer.....	12
Miscellaneous	11
Total	140

Table III affords another surprise—in the fact that nearly one-half of the entire number was quite indifferent to political and governmental matters. Those persons who are listed under the attitude of “interested, but non-partisan” represent a group who are in the process of becoming real citizens. They have had their interest in our American government definitely aroused, but are still perplexed with reference to taking a stand which would seem to commit them regarding party issues. In the third

group are those who have become somewhat familiar with political matters and are avowedly party men (and women)—here the Democratic and Socialist parties predominate. Under the heading of “refused to answer,” the prevailing attitude is summed up in the phrase of one of the immigrants: “Afraid to talk.” Fear was the prevailing factor in these cases. Under the heading of miscellaneous attitudes, the following answers are self-explanatory: “No friend of political grafters,” “All politicians grafters,” “My politics about the same as the customer’s who happens to be talking with me,” “I like no war.”

In regard to naturalization, the facts show that 70 per cent, or 99 immigrants, had not taken out “first papers.” The percentage is much larger than was expected. The answers show that almost all these immigrants had not thought about the need of or the benefits to be derived from naturalization.

Table IV. Religious Attitude.

<i>Religious Attitude</i>	<i>Number</i>
Roman Catholic	38
“Haven’t any”	32
Protestant	16
Greek Catholic	12
Against religion	6
Jewish	3
Unstated and miscellaneous.....	33
Total	<u>140</u>

From a religious standpoint, it is to be said that a large number of the entire group manifested a distinct indifference to religion, or a gradual breaking away from an active religious attitude. The call to the forces of religious education and to the churches in this regard is urgent.

Table V. "How Was Your Attention Called to the Night School?"

<i>Method</i>	<i>Number</i>
By a friend or fellow workman.....	63
By public notice or advertisement.....	14
School principal or teacher invited me..	13
By employer	10
Compulsory school notice.....	8
An accident	7
Came to social gathering first.....	5
Desire to learn	4
Through the church.....	2
Unclassified	14
Total	<u>140</u>

Table V shows the significance of the personal element in getting the adult immigrant interested in the night school. The friend or fellow-workman is an effective agent. The school principal or teacher who makes a personal effort in inviting the adult immigrant is performing an excellent public service. Public notices, advertisements in the newspapers, and especially handbills were mentioned by many immigrants as being the first important factor in bringing them to the night school. Handbills that

were left in the shops were mentioned by several immigrants as important. Under the reason, "an accident," were given such answers as these: "Walking by, one night, and walked in—lights attracted me," "Saw building lighted," "Live near and asked what was going on."

Table VI. "Why Are You Attending the Night School?"

<i>Reasons</i>	<i>Number</i>
To learn English.....	84
Nothing else to do.....	12
Compulsory	10
For sociability reasons.....	10
Cannot go to school in day-time.....	8
Citizenship reasons	8
Unclassified and miscellaneous.....	8
Total	140

The leading reasons why the adult immigrant is in the night school may be found in Table VI. As may be expected, the chief reason is the desire to learn English. Behind this interest in almost all cases was the desire to earn more money. "I know English, I earn more money," was not an uncommon answer. Other answers of this type were as follows: "To earn more," "In order to get position," "Learn arithmetic and English in order to facilitate business," "Learn English, get better job," "To learn arithmetic, to increase wage-earning capacity." Another type of answers centered around the idea of learning English in order to be able to read English

newspapers and thus to keep better informed in regard to American news.

The third reason, i. e., "compulsory," refers to the work permits which are granted by the Compulsory Education Department with the provision that the workers attend night school. Under the heading of "unclassified and miscellaneous" occur such answers as these: "To learn everything," "To learn music," and "My girl wants me to go."

Table VII. "How May the Night School be Improved?"

<i>Suggestions</i>	<i>Number</i>
Very good now.....	37
Do not know.....	30
More social center work.....	24
Smaller classes, more individual help..	10
Teach more music.....	5
Closer grading	3
More appropriate books.....	2
Open more night schools.....	2
More regular attendance.....	2
More diversity in studies.....	2
More fitted to adults.....	2
Miscellaneous	21
Total	140

It was to be expected, as shown by Table VII, that the majority of the adult immigrants would have no suggestions of especial value concerning the improvement of the night school. It would be, in

other words, only the exceptional adult who would have a valuable recommendation. In this regard, the request for more social center work is not to be underrated; while the appeals for smaller classes, more teachers, and more individual help from the teachers are probably the most important suggestions which were offered. The desire to have more emphasis placed upon the teaching of music represents a genuine need and should be heeded extensively.

Table VIII. Attitude of Employer to the Night School (according to employees).

<i>Attitude</i>	<i>Number</i>
Favorable	58
Do not know his attitude.....	43
He does not know that immigrant comes	12
No employer, miscellaneous.....	20
Unfavorable	7
Total	<u>140</u>

From Table VIII, it may be pointed out that the employer seems either to be favorable or else indifferent to the night school. It would appear that employers are in an excellent position to encourage their employees to attend the night school. It would seem, also, that employers should assume a definite responsibility in encouraging their employees to avail themselves of the advantages of education. In that connection, it may again be stated that it is unfair for an adult who has been handicapped by

lack of education to be forced in his efforts to overcome that handicap by going to school at night after he has worked eight or ten hours per day. Since educational development is more important than economic development, the educationally handicapped adult should have the best hours of the day for study and training instead of perhaps the poorest hours of the day.

Table IX. "How May Others be Interested in the Night School?"

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Number</i>
By telling our friends.....	36
By advertising more.....	34
Do not know.....	23
More social center emphasis.....	16
By bringing our friends.....	4
Have teachers visit in neighborhood....	4
Miscellaneous	23
Total	<u>140</u>

The leading answer in reply to the question: "How may others be interested in the night school?" is personal and printed advertisements. Some of the typical answers were these: "Tell others about the good work," "Might talk it up more," "I tell friends, show them I write," "I tell it, you say so." To have the principal and teachers go out into the neighborhood and shops with a personal invitation is a method that should be fostered. Reference to Table IX will show that four immigrants were more aggressive in their ideas than the others—for they

were not satisfied with telling others, but urged the method of "bringing our friends." Among the miscellaneous answers were the following: "Tell others that it is free," "All should be interested when they know that it is free," and "Can't see why they don't all attend."

Table X. "What Would You Do If Not In the Night School?"

<i>Answers</i>	<i>Number</i>
Go to "movies".....	31
Go to the pool-halls, saloons.....	24
"Bum on the streets".....	21
"Just stay at home".....	20
Read at home, library.....	18
Play music.....	8
Go to theater.....	7
Do nothing in particular.....	4
Miscellaneous	7
Total	140

The adult immigrant would go to the motion picture theater, the pool-hall, and the saloon, if he were not in the night school, in a large number of cases. "Bum on the streets" was a common answer. "Go out with the bunch," "Hang around with the boys," "Spend money for drink," "Stand on streets," and "Waste time at movies or hang around street corners," are answers which represent a situation which is worthy of consideration. The love of music which so many immigrants possess (noted in Table VII), may well receive more attention from the

school authorities. The immigrant, as a class, has a large contribution to make to American life by virtue of his musical abilities. In general, America has neglected the vast opportunities in this field.

Some of the conclusions which may be drawn from this specific study of adult immigrants in the night schools are as follows: (1) An amazing lack of knowledge of and real interest in American government and in public welfare on the part of the immigrant is evident. If those immigrants who are attending night schools are indifferent, what can be said for the large numbers of immigrants who are not yet aroused to the advantages of attending night school? The United States has an important function to perform in bringing all aliens who are living within her boundaries to a full appreciation of and participation in public life. This process must needs be an educational one.

(2) The personal method is the most effective to arouse interest in the night school. The immigrant who invites, or brings another immigrant, and the teacher, principal, employer who personally extends a hearty invitation probably represents the best means of extending the work of the night school.

(3) The night school is considered by many immigrants chiefly as an institution where they can learn English and thereby increase their earning ability. The "English First" movement has gained considerable headway. Manufacturers are beginning to admit that in turning out quantities of iron and steel products they have not been turning out American citizens. They are beginning to realize their re-

sponsibility for the effects of untoward factory and mill conditions upon their unlettered employees. "English First" is a more logical slogan in some ways than "America First." The reports, for example, from the Ford factories in Detroit indicate that the teaching of English to the foreign-born employees has reduced accidents 54 per cent.

The teaching of English to foreign adult employees, according to a summary made by the National Council of Defense, will give the following results:

1. Reduce industrial accidents.
2. Increase the loyalty of foreigners to the country.
3. Decrease the cost of supervising employees.
4. Raise the efficiency of employees.
5. Aid foreign-born employees in becoming naturalized.
6. Increase the employee's term of service.
7. Make the employee less subservient to foreign-spirited leaders.
8. Encourage the employee to remain in this country.

(4) Another leading need in the development of the night school idea is to give more personal attention to each pupil, and to provide corps of specially trained teachers for educating adult immigrants. Special training, a pleasing personality, and a sympathetic interest in the foreigner are essential characteristics of a successful teacher. Heretofore, teachers of the foreign-born have been paid too low

wages. They have usually been "day" teachers who undertake evening classes in addition to an already full schedule of work. They have met the evening classes in a tired state of mind, and because of the night work have gone in a fatigued condition to the work of the next day. Further, they have had to teach adults in the evening who themselves were over-fatigued from having put in a full day's work. A minimum standard should require specially trained teachers who come to their adult pupils in an active state of mind, and who are well-paid.

The question may be raised: Should the teacher be able to speak the language of the foreign-born adult pupils? If he does, he and they possess an important bond of sympathetic understanding which is valuable. On the other hand, if he speaks only English, the pupils will make a special effort to make themselves understood—an exertion which will expedite the process of learning the English language.

The adult pupils need to be divided, in general, into grades. If dull and bright pupils are left together, the dull become discouraged and cease to attend. The bright become disgusted and likewise discontinue attending school.

The visual method of teaching is perhaps the best way to convey the meaning of nouns; the dramatic method gives an easy key to the meaning of verbs; the excursion plan enables the teacher to objectify, for the pupils many terms which otherwise would remain obscure. The best teacher combines these methods in a way to meet all the needs of the situation. He centers the lessons in English upon the

elements of every-day life. He uses vivid and dramatic methods to good advantage in teaching civics and history. He gives special attention in providing adequate industrial education for the foreign-born. Best of all, he exemplifies and inculcates a socialized spirit.

(5) A comparison of the immigrant's work in the evening school with his activities in the evening if he were not at school, gives evidence of the value of night schools. The importance of making the school buildings in the evenings educational and social centers for all the members of immigrant families is also clear.

(6) Visiting or home teachers should be provided for the education of the foreign-born wives and mothers who have few opportunities to become Americanized. The child has his school contacts, the father his industrial contacts, but the mother has almost no contacts with Americanism. The entire family of the immigrant should be educated simultaneously so that they may advance together.

(7) The night school plan is praiseworthy, but does not give the immigrant a fair chance to learn. After a man has labored for ten hours at monotonous, tiresome work, the fatigue toxins have dulled the brain. Only the exceptional individuals among unskilled men have enough initiative left to attend school at night. Further, the night school method gives an outsider the impression that the physical work that the unskilled immigrant can do is the thing that is of paramount importance. It appears as though we consider his mental and spiritual develop-

ment secondary. If the choice had to be made between giving the illiterate foreigner the poorest or the best hour of the day to secure his training in citizenship, the best hour should be his, not only for his sake but for ours as well. In order that all the workers may be reached, it will be necessary for the school to go to the factory. According to this method, the alien is given a half hour or an hour per day without wage-reduction, whereby under the direction of public school teachers who go to the shops, he may pursue the study of English and of citizenship. The public school system furnishes the teachers and the equipment; and the employers, the space, artificial light, their co-operative interest, and perhaps one-half hour of the time of men without wage-reduction. Employers are learning that such welfare work is economically profitable.

(8) The forces of religious education must greatly increase their efforts, or else hundreds of thousands of immigrants will lose their religious faiths and beliefs. If religion is a vital force in human life, as is generally believed, then the public educational forces must face squarely the problem and introduce adequate training in the fundamentals of religion in the public school system.

(9) The teaching of English, of civics, and of American ideals must be made so worth-while and attractive that all immigrants will desire to avail themselves of these opportunities. Employers must feel their responsibilities in regard to increasing the industrial efficiency and civic earnestness of their immigrant employees to the extent that they (the em-

ployers) will give at least a portion of the day's time on pay so that the foreign-born adult may have a fair chance to learn the rudimentary principles of Americanism. The public must see the need of giving the honest but unlearned immigrant a cordial handshake, sympathetic glances of the eye, and full opportunities for a self-expression that is in harmony with the best American principles.

If we protect the immigrant from exploitation and insist on better standards of living, of sanitation, of recreation, of education for him, he will almost automatically become a good American. If we give him a cordial welcome, a practical fraternalism, and democratic opportunities in our every-day life, he will gladly give his all to America. As a class, the immigrants are teachable and patriotic. Often they appreciate better than we the meaning of freedom. When they fairly understand Americanism, they are quick to repudiate autocracy and to push forward the cause of democracy.

A fundamental understanding of the meaning of Americanism will develop in us all a new loyalty to the government that was begotten in the struggles of our fathers, baptized with the tears of our mothers, and cherished, enriched, perfected by the grateful love of their children.⁴ A true Americanization program will lead both native-born and foreign-born to the realization of a loyalty to the nation that is incorporated in the following beliefs:

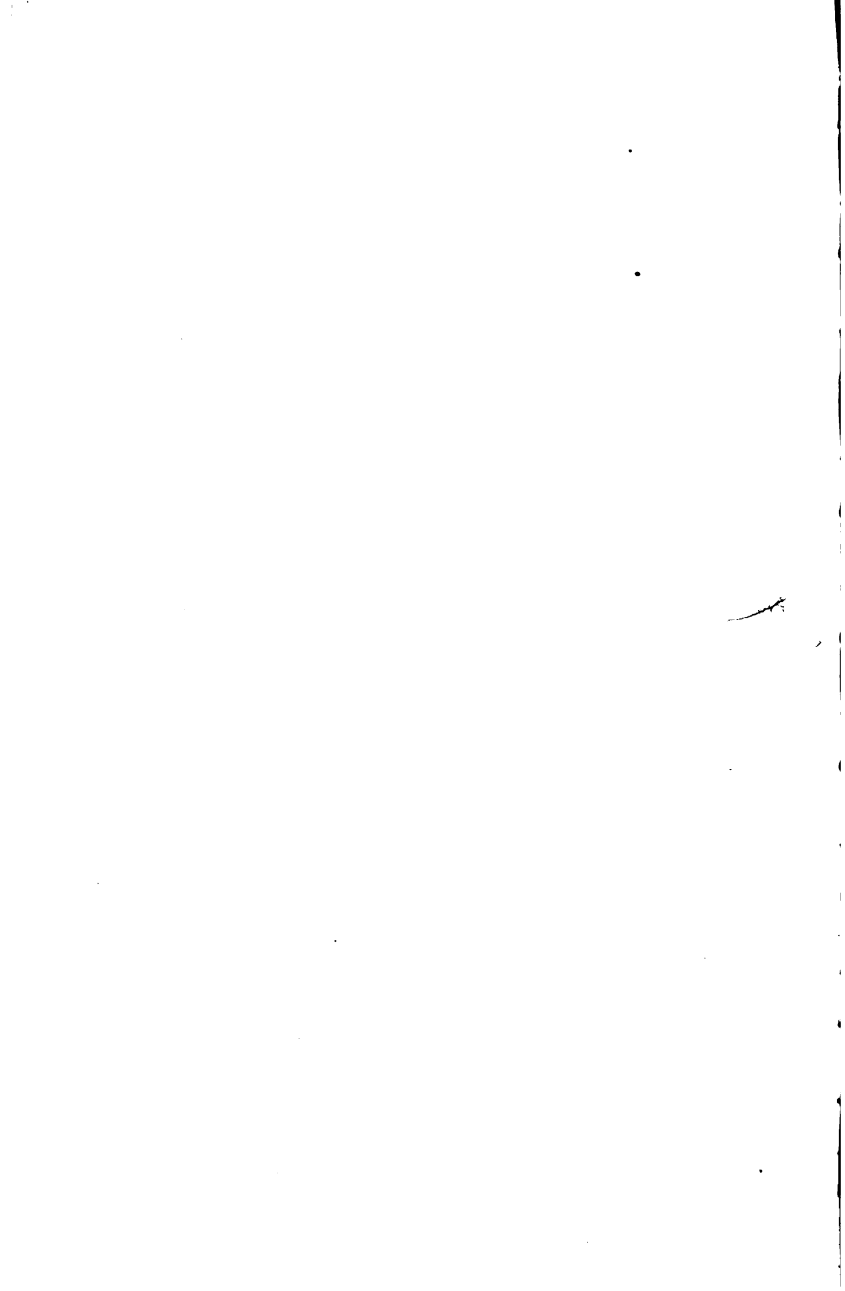
⁴Cf. "An American Patriot's Creed" by George H. Hubbard, *Christian Register*, June 6, 1918. p. 535.

We believe in a sovereign citizenship, crowned with self-respect, ruled by self-control, rendering obedience to the leaders that we have chosen and to the laws that we have made, and measuring greatness in units of service.

We believe in a patriotism, which is proved by deeds; which seeks no private gain at the expense of public welfare; which knows no country-love at variance with Christ's principle of human brotherhood, which delights in the arts of peace, but does not shirk the duties and dangers of righteous war; which is ever ready for the supreme sacrifice; and which esteems the honor of civic righteousness more even than the glories of martial achievement.

We believe in the sacredness of human personalities, in the social necessity of the family, of the nation, and of an international order which shall maintain justice between the nations. We believe in the supremacy of right over might, in the invincibility of universal truth, and in the sure triumph of social and economic justice. We believe in the potential equality of races, in the ability of democracy to release the tremendous spiritual forces now dormant, and in the gradual unfolding of God's righteousness.

And to the promotion of these American ideals, we dedicate our substance, our service, and our lives. God helping us, we can do no other.



APPENDIX A

BRIEF ORIGINAL STATEMENTS OF AMERICAN IDEALS

For the convenience of speakers, teachers, and students, a group of brief original statements of American ideals by representative American spokesmen has been selected and brought together here in convenient form. The chronological arrangement of these source materials makes it possible to study the changes in, and the development of, American ideals.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1620

BY THE PILGRIM FATHERS¹

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of ye faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of ye Christian faith and

¹This compact of the Pilgrim Fathers which was made on board the "Mayflower" is noteworthy for three reasons. (1) It proceeds from religious foundations. (2) It represents a search for more individual liberty within the British Empire. (3) It establishes a political government that is controlled by just and equal laws and not by the caprice of governor or ruler.

honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant, and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick: for our better ordering, and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall laws, ordinancees, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11 of November in ye year of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie-fourth.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1757

BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN²

Sloth like rust, consumes faster than labor wears.
He that riseth late must trot all day.

He that hath a trade hath an estate, and he that
hath a calling hath an office of profit and honor.

Diligence is the mother of good luck.

²This statement of Americanism, taken from *Poor Richard's Almanac*, is a unique expression of the industrial ideals of the nation in its formative decades. The present generation, however, has veered away from these common sense proverbs and the industrial morale of the United States is undergoing a change.

One to-day is worth two to-morrows.

The cat in gloves catches no mice.

Little strokes fell great oaks.

If you would have your business done, go; if not, send.

Beware of little expenses; a small leak will sink a great ship.

'Tis hard for an empty bag to stand upright.

Creditors have better memories than debtors.

Rather go to bed supperless than rise in debt.

What is a butterfly? At best

He's but a caterpillar drest.

For age and want, save while you may,

No morning sun lasts a whole day.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1775

BY PATRICK HENRY^s

They tell us, sir, that we are weak,—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irreso-

^sIn this speech, Patrick Henry crystallizes the two-fold change in political sentiment that had taken place in the century and a half which followed the signing of the "Mayflower" compact. In the first place, the colonists had become convinced that it was futile longer to seek political liberty within the confines of the British Empire. In the second place, the colonists had been exasperated beyond measure and had forgotten all else save the ideal, namely, liberty.

lution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of Hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone: it is to the vigilant, the active, and the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery. Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston. The war is inevitable. And let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms. Our brethren are already in the field. Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may

take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1776

BY THOMAS JEFFERSON⁴

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such form,

⁴This preamble shows the distance that the colonists had traveled in the fifteen months which had followed Patrick Henry's "Liberty or Death" speech. Inchoate revolutionary ideas had assumed a fixed and dignified form. In the generalizations by Jefferson, the revolutionary impulses became a set of high-minded principles.

as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1787

BY THE MAKERS OF THE CONSTITUTION⁵

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this *Constitution* for the United States of America.

⁵Eleven stormy years had passed since the Declaration of Independence was announced. Notice the new social and co-operative terminology that is used for the first time: "We, the people of the United States." Observe the new principle that is given expression—a perfected Union is necessary in order that the liberties of the individual may be safe.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1796

BY GEORGE WASHINGTON*

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. . . .

This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitution of government.

*In the Farewell Address, Washington indicated how American attention had advanced from seeking liberty, *per se*, to building a union of sufficient strength to endure, and yet not so powerful that it would necessarily curb individual liberty in any way. Washington pointed out the four essential corner-stones for such a national structure: (1) respect for law; (2) religion and morality; (3) educational institutions; and (4) justice towards but no permanent alliances with other nations.

But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. . . .

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with public and private felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles. . . .

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened. . . .

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It

will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. . . .

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. . . . Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice? . . . Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1801

BY THOMAS JEFFERSON⁷

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the nar-

⁷In this address which was given at the first inauguration of Thomas Jefferson and at the dawn of the nineteenth century, there is the most complete, comprehensive, and condensed statement that is available of the principles upon which our Republic was founded. Herein is found the famous phrase, "entangling alliances with none," which is popularly attributed to Washington.

rowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle but not all its limitations:

Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political:

Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none:

The support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies:

The preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad:

A jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided:

Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism:

A well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war until regulars may relieve them:

The supremacy of the civil over the military authority:

Economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened:

The honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith:

Encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaid:

The diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason :

Freedom of religion :

Freedom of the press :

And freedom of person under the protection of the *Habeas Corpus*, and trial by juries impartially selected.

These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through the age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages, and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust, and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1823

BY JAMES MONROE⁸

In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part,

⁸In 1823, the President of the United States found himself in a dilemma regarding an international problem that had long caused the nation considerable anxiety. Should the United States permit the nations of Europe to spread the ideals of autocracy on the American continent, and thus court war; or should she somewhat presumptuously bar them from further colonization on this side of the Atlantic, and thereby invite their secret and jealous enmity? President Monroe rightly decided that the nation would be safer with opponents at a distance than to have them entrenched near at hand.

nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments; and to the defense of our own which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we would not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1830

BY DANIEL WEBSTER^{*}

I profess, Sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influence, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, Sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the

^{*}Thirty years had passed since the establishment of the Republic. Individualism and individualistic liberty still held primary sway in American life. It was a keen appreciation of the dangers ahead of an overemphasis upon individual liberty which brought forth the eloquent eulogy of the Union from the heart and mind of Webster.

chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind!

When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched it may be in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterward"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing

on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment dear to every true American heart,—Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1843

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON¹⁰

They tell me, Liberty! that in thy name
I may not plead for all the human race;
That some are born to bondage and disgrace,
Some to a heritage of woe and shame,
And some to power supreme, and glorious fame:
With my whole soul I spurn the doctrine base,
And, as an equal brotherhood, embrace
All people, and for all fair freedom claim!
Know this, O man! whate'er thy earthly fate—
God never made a tyrant nor a slave:
Woe, then, to those who dare to desecrate
His glorious image!—for to all He gave
Eternal rights, which none may violate;
And, by a mighty hand, the oppressed He yet shall
save!

¹⁰The humanitarian basis of the impassioned addresses of Garrison and of his fellow abolitionists marks the rise of a definite and comprehensive social consciousness in the United States. It was a social conscience that finally extended the meaning of liberty and struck the shackles from the Negro slave.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1858

BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN¹¹

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

¹¹The question of granting liberty to the Negro at last became inextricably entangled with that other fundamental but entirely different question of the strength of the Union. The first great opening speech of the final struggle between the abolitionists and Unionists on one hand, and the slavery adherents and the secessionists on the other hand was delivered by Lincoln, in Springfield, Illinois, on June 16, 1858. On this occasion, Lincoln rested his decision on the belief in the nation as an indivisible social unit.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1863

BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN¹²

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any other nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these

¹²It is in crises that great decisions are made and immortal sentiments are expressed. War is such a crisis. A civil war is a crisis that is especially heart-rending because the opposing forces are often of the same blood and possessed of kindred interests. The greatest sentiment which came out of our Civil War was voiced by Lincoln in his Gettysburg speech when he gave a new definition to democracy.

honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1865

BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN¹³

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war; while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. . . . Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of un-

¹³The conqueror in war is tempted to become puffed up, vain-glorious, and lordly. But it was not so with Lincoln. The United States will never cease to praise the spirit which prompted Lincoln at the victorious close of the Civil War to say, "With malice toward none, with charity for all." Nothing more Christian, and nothing more social in all history has ever been said.

requited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow, and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1876

BY BAYARD TAYLOR¹⁴

Foreseen in the vision of sages
Foretold when martyrs bled,
She was born of the longing of ages,
By the truth of the noble dead
And the faith of the living fed!
No blood in her lightest veins
Frets at remembered chains

¹⁴The racial and social cosmopolitanism of the United States, in both her origin and later development, has never been better stated than by Bayard Taylor in the National Ode, "America," which he delivered on July 4, 1876, the centenary of the Declaration of Independence. Only the closing lines are printed here.

Nor shame of bondage has bowed her head.
In her form and features still
The unblenching Puritan will,
Cavalier honor, Huguenot grace,
The Quaker truth and sweetness,
And the strength of the danger-girdled race
Of Holland, blend in a proud completeness.
From the homes of all where her being began
She took what she gave to man;
Justice that knew no station,
Belief, as soul decreed,
Free air for aspiration,
Free force for independent deed!
She takes but to give again,
As the sea returns the rivers in rain;
And gathers the chosen of her seed
From the hunted of every crown and creed.
Her Germany dwells by a gentler Rhine;
Her Ireland sees the old sunburst shine;
Her France pursues some dream divine;
Her Norway keeps his mountain pine;
Her Italy waits by the western brine;
And, broad-based under all,
Is planted England's oaken-hearted mood,
As rich in fortitude
As e'er went worldward from the island wall!
Fused in her candid light,
To one strong race all races here unite;
Tongues melt in hers, hereditary foemen
Forget their sword and slogan, kith and clan.
'Twas glory once to be a Roman:
She makes it glory, now to be a man!

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1878

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON¹⁸

The genius of the country has marked out our true policy,—opportunity. Opportunity of civil rights, of education, of personal power, and not less of wealth; doors wide open. If I could have it,—free trade with all the world without toll or custom-houses, invitation as we now make to every nation, to every race and skin, white men, red men, yellow men, black men; hospitality of fair field and equal laws to all. Let them compete, and success to the strongest, the wisest and the best. The land is wide enough, the soil has bread for all.

I hope America will come to have its pride in being a nation of servants, and not of the served. How can men have any other ambition where the reason has not suffered a disastrous collapse? Whilst every man can say I serve,—to the whole extent of my being I apply my faculty to the service of mankind in my especial place,—he therein sees and shows a reason for his being in the world—or is not a moth or incumbrance in it. . . .

Happily we are under better guidance than of statesmen. Pennsylvania coal mines, and New York

¹⁸These paragraphs are printed from "The Fortune of the Republic," which was one of the last addresses (delivered March 30, 1878) by Emerson. In it, Emerson points out (1) that America has developed out of extraordinary opportunities, (2) that nothing less than the exercise of justice is necessary in the utilization of these opportunities, (3) that commercial power has begun to cast a darkening cloud over the land, and (4) that spiritual elements must be given first place if the nation is to progress.

shipping, and free labor, though not idealist, gravitate in the ideal direction. Nothing less large than justice can keep them in good temper. Justice satisfies everybody, and justice alone. No monopoly must be foisted in, no weak party or nationality sacrificed, no coward compromise conceded to a strong partner. Every one of these is the seed of vice, war and national disorganization. It is our part to carry out to the last the ends of liberty and justice. We shall stand, then, for vast interests; north and south, east and west will be present to our minds, and our vote will be as if they voted, and we shall know that our vote secures the foundations of the state, good-will, liberty and security of traffic and of production, and mutual increase of good-will in the great interests. . . .

In seeking this guidance of events, in seeing this felicity without example that has rested on the Union thus far, I find new confidence for the future. I could heartily wish that our will and endeavor were more active parties to the work. But I see in all directions the light breaking. Trade and government will not alone be the favored aims of mankind, but every useful, every elegant art, every exercise of imagination, the height of reason, the noblest affection, the purest religion will find their home in our institutions, and write our laws for the benefit of man.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1905

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT¹⁶

Much has been given to us, and much will rightfully be expected from us. We have duties to others and duties to ourselves; and we can shirk neither. We have become a great nation, forced by the fact of its greatness into relations with other nations of the earth; and we must behave as beseems a people with such responsibilities. Toward all other nations, large and small, our attitude must be one of cordial and sincere friendship. We must show, not only in our words, but in our deeds, that we are earnestly desirous of securing their good-will by acting toward them in a spirit of just and generous recognition of all their rights. But justice and generosity in a nation, as in an individual, count most when shown, not by the weak, but by the strong. While ever careful to refrain from wronging others, we must be no less insistent that we are not wronging ourselves. We wish peace; but we wish the peace of justice, the peace of righteousness. We wish it because we think it is right and not because we are afraid. No weak nation that acts manfully and justly should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power

¹⁶Hard-headed, common-sense Americanism never had an abler exponent than Theodore Roosevelt. He freely cut loose from conventions of the past that had become useless; he wasted no time in seeking ideals that were too far ahead to be realized in his day. He stood fearlessly for methods of solving all problems on the basis of "the square deal" to all parties alike, as is well illustrated in the accompanying excerpt from the inaugural address of March 4, 1905.

should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1909

BY ISRAEL ZANGWILL¹⁷

There she lies, the great Melting Pot—listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling? There gapes her mouth—the harbour where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight. Ah, what a stirring and seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian,—black and yellow—Jew and Gentile—yes, East and West, and North and South, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross—how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of man and the Kingdom of God. Ah, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to labor and look forward.

¹⁷In the drama, *The Melting Pot*, Mr. Zangwill produced the first great American sociological play. The ideal is correct, but when immigrants are permitted to congregate in large numbers in our metropolitan cities, it fails of realization. No truer descriptive phrase of American life has been coined than this: "America, where all races and nations come to labor and look forward."

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1915

BY WOODROW WILSON¹⁸

You can not become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America; but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. . . .

Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation in the world. I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations. You know how it is with a family. A family gets centered on itself if it is not careful and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members. So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all nations of mankind. . . .

¹⁸In these selections from the address on May 10, 1915, to recently naturalized citizens in Philadelphia, and from the address on October 11, 1915, to the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington, D. C., President Wilson has visualized the place of the United States in a unity of the nations.

America has a great cause which is not confined to the American continent. It is the cause of humanity itself. . . .

I would not feel any exhilaration in belonging to America if I did not feel that she was something more than a rich and powerful nation. I should not feel proud to be in some respects and for a little while her spokesman if I did not believe that there was something else than physical force behind her. I believe that the glory of America is that she is a great spiritual conception and that in the spirit of her institutions dwells not only her distinction but her power. The one thing that the world can not permanently resist is the moral force of great and triumphant convictions.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1915

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT¹⁹

Therefore, we should devote ourselves as a preparative to preparedness, alike in peace and war, to secure the three elemental things; one, a common language, the English language; two, the increase in our social loyalty—citizenship absolutely undivided, a citizenship which acknowledges no flag except the flag of the United States and which emphatically repudiates all duality of intention or national loy-

¹⁹In his last years, Roosevelt's nationalism became intensified. Roosevelt became tremendously interested in seeing his native country become unified and strong and courageous. The formula that is given here is taken from his Knights of Columbus speech on October 12, 1915.

alty; and, three, an intelligent and resolute effort for the removal of industrial and social unrest, an effort which shall aim equally to securing every man his rights and to make every man understand that unless he in good faith performs his duties he is not entitled to any rights at all.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1917

BY WOODROW WILSON²⁰

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples—the German people included—for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience.

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as

²⁰The entry of the United States into the European War brought forth from President Wilson the most unselfish statement of national principles that any large nation had yet declared. The accompanying selection will be recognized at once as a part of the address on April 2, 1917, and gives the setting of the famous ideal, "The world must be made safe for democracy."

the faith and the freedom of the nation can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish objects, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for. . . .

It will be easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government, which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. . . .

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

AMERICAN IDEALS IN 1918 AND 1919

BY WOODROW WILSON²¹

There is a great voice of humanity abroad in the world just now which he who cannot hear is deaf. There is a great compulsion of the common conscience now in existence which if any statesman resist will gain for him the most unenviable eminence in history. We are not obeying the mandate of parties or of politics. We are obeying the mandate of humanity.

Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot co-operate with you I cannot be your friend, and if the world is to remain a body of friends it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests. That makes it necessary to make some great effort to have with one another an easy and constant method of conference so that troubles may be taken when they are little and not allowed to grow until they are big.

There is only one thing that holds nations together, if you exclude force, and that is friendship and good will. Therefore, our task at Paris is to

²¹These selections are chosen from the address of President Wilson in Free Trade Hall, Manchester, England (December 30, 1918), and from the address before the Chamber of Deputies in Rome (January 3, 1919). In the speech in Rome, there occurs the world-significant ideal: "Our task . . . is to organize the friendship of the world."

organize the friendship of the world—to see to it that all the moral forces that make for right and justice and liberty are united, and are given a vital organization to which the peoples of the world will readily and gladly respond. . . .

We know that there cannot be another balance of power. That has been tried and found wanting, for the best of all reasons that it does not stay balanced inside itself.

Therefore, there must be something substituted for the balance of power, and I am happy to find everywhere in the air of these great nations the conception that that thing must be a thoroughly united League of Nations.

APPENDIX B

SUGGESTIONS TO SPEAKERS ON AMERICANIZATION

Interested persons should write to the Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C., and ask to have their names placed upon the mailing list for the monthly publication, *Americanization*. Each issue is full of helpful suggestions. Other valuable material may be secured by writing to specific organizations such as the State Commission of Immigration and Housing of California (Sacramento), which has published several very useful pamphlets on Americanization.

There are many fundamental ideals which speakers on Americanization need to have clearly in mind. They should familiarize themselves with the past and present phases of Americanism and with the problems which lie directly before the nation. They must analyze the differences between American ideals and American practices, and appreciate what must be done in order that the nation may achieve complete democracy.

Speakers on Americanization need to avoid narrow interpretations of the subject; they must see it as a process, chiefly educational, which requires time and patience, which involves sympathetic attitudes,

and which must be translated daily into personal action by Americans.

Speakers must ground themselves in the cultural backgrounds of immigrant life. What ideals has the given group of immigrants brought with them? What hopes did they bring? What gifts can they make to America?

Another set of questions which speakers must answer before addressing a specific racial group is: What problems of adjustment have these immigrants faced? In what ways have they had difficulties in bridging the chasm between previous methods and present demands? What are the differences between their viewpoint and our American ways of doing? Have their hopes been shattered in any way in America?

In addressing an immigrant group, the speaker will be given an open door to their hearts and minds, if he shows them that he is acquainted with their racial struggles and racial heroes. Another good method of approach is to explain clearly that the United States entered the European War "to help establish liberty in all the world." Almost all immigrants understand the meaning of liberty better than any other term in our national vocabulary. They come from racial stocks which struggled to secure liberty for centuries before the United States as a nation was established.

It is important that a right attitude be taken by public speakers toward the teaching of the English language. The many ways in which a knowledge of the English language will aid an immigrant may be

clearly outlined. On the other hand, the speaker must not attack the native language of the immigrant. Let him stress, however, in every constructive way possible, the importance of learning English.

Above all else, it is vital to remember that the nature of the attitude of Americans will determine in almost all cases whether the immigrant will become an asset or a menace, that love for the immigrant will cause the immigrant to love America, and that if American principles are given attractive and just expressions, the immigrant will gladly give himself to their hearty and loyal support.

It is worth while, as a matter of technique, to work out several outlines for speeches on Americanization. Nothing bores an immigrant more than a speaker who talks "in a circle," who "rants," or otherwise shows that he has not thought clear through his topic.

Three outlines for speeches on Americanization are given herewith. The first is a modification of one that appeared in the pamphlet "Americanization," by the State Commission of Immigration and Housing of California. It will be necessary to modify these outlines to suit the occasion and the speaker's store of information, and to introduce as much illustrative material as possible.

OUTLINE NUMBER ONE

THE IMMIGRANT: AN ASSET OR LIABILITY

1. In what ways is the immigrant an asset to the United States?
 - (1) He usually possesses physical strength and endurance greater than that of average Americans.
 - (2) His honesty and reliability in industry are indispensable. (See the inside of either cover of Haskin, *The Immigrant*, for a specific statement of the ways in which the immigrant contributes to industry).
 - (3) His stable family life is a valuable asset to the United States, when many forces are undermining the sanctity of the marriage relation.
 - (4) His fundamental ideas of right and wrong are closely similar to American moral ideas.
 - (5) His love of art and music are precious in America, where few fundamental conceptions in this connection have been developed.
 - (6) His religious spirit is sound. It will greatly strengthen religion in the United States. It needs only to be expressed constructively and socially.

- (7) His greatest asset is his love of liberty. It is older and deeper than that of the average American.
2. When is the immigrant a liability to the United States?
 - (1) When he fails to learn the English language.
 - (2) When he becomes shiftless.
 - (3) When he listens to the worst about the United States without trying to learn about the best.
 - (4) When he is immoral and thereby undermines the social order.
 - (5) When he deliberately keeps his ideals to himself or to his group and fails to contribute them to America.
3. The immigrant is a part of America. He may build up or tear down what has already been accomplished. Our attitude toward him may determine whether he will be an asset or a liability.

OUTLINE NUMBER TWO

THE IMMIGRANT AND DEMOCRACY

1. The meaning of the word, democracy.
2. The democratic city-states of Greece.
3. England's contributions to democracy.
4. Some founders of democracy in the United States.
 - (1) The Pilgrims: The "Mayflower" covenant.

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- (2) Thomas Jefferson: The prophet of American democracy.
- (3) Abraham Lincoln: The savior of democracy.
- (4) Theodore Roosevelt: The reincarnation of democracy.
- (5) Woodrow Wilson: The exponent of world democracy.

5. Some phases of American democracy.

(1) Political

- a. Law above caprice of king.
- b. Vote of poor man equal to vote of rich man.

(2) Religious.

- a. Religious belief of any individual does not bar him from political preferment.
- b. A democracy of religious beliefs in the United States.

(3) Intellectual.

- a. Aim of the public school system to give everyone in the United States the fundamentals of an education.
- b. The ideas of any honest and earnest person are judged before the bar of public opinion on their merit.

(4) Social.

- a. Opportunities to rise from one social plane to another, even to the highest.

- b. In our country, aristocracy is scorned, except the aristocracy of achieving.
- (5) Personal.
 - a. The meaning of personal liberty in the United States.
 - b. The nation exists primarily for the individual, not the individual primarily for the state.
 - c. The high place given to human personality in our country.
- 6. The call to the immigrant in the United States to contribute to the realization of democracy in all lines.

OUTLINE NUMBER THREE

FIVE ENEMIES AND FIVE FRIENDS OF THE UNITED STATES

- 1. Five enemies.
 - (1) Ignorance.
 - a. Of the English language.
 - b. Of the main points in our national history.
 - c. Of the ideals of democracy.
 - d. Of the best side of American life.
 - e. Of the best traits of immigrants.
 - (2) Disease.
 - a. Tuberculosis.
 - b. Other contagious diseases.
 - c. Occupational diseases — lead-poisoning.

- (3) Alcoholic liquor.
 - a. As a poison.
- (4) Disrespect for law and order.
 - a. By the automobilist who "speeds."
 - b. By the stock-watering corporation.
 - c. By the lawyer who shows a client how to violate a law with impunity.
 - d. By the revolutionary Bolshevist.
- (5) Extravagance.
 - a. By the wealthy.
 - b. By the poor.

2. Five friends.

- (1) A stable family life.
 - a. Respect for the sanctity of marriage.
 - b. Home ownership .
- (2) Industrial democracy.
 - a. Mutual understanding of employee and employer.
 - b. Employees with a voice in the control of business.
 - c. Fair distribution of earnings to the factors in production.
 - d. Production of goods secondary to welfare of workers.
- (3) Religious faith and vision.
 - a. Socialized and put into daily expression.
- (4) Democratic government.
 - a. The vote kept sacred.
 - b. Active participation in all phases of national life.

(5) Education.

- a. The giving of the most important knowledge to every person in the nation.
3. The call to both native-born and foreign-born to overthrow the enemies and to enthrone the friends of our nation.



APPENDIX C

PROBLEMS IN AMERICANIZATION

CHAPTER I

1. Why has attention been given to questions of Americanization only within recent years?
2. What is the ordinary person's conception of Americanization?
3. What is the best starting-point in studying the subject of Americanization?
4. What is meant by the making of an American?
5. What do you understand by America's "manifest destiny"?
6. Which of the definitions of Americanization that are given in chapter one do you prefer, and why?
7. Is there an American race?
8. Distinguish between race and nationality.

CHAPTER II

1. What criticism can you offer concerning the analysis of American traits that is given in the first paragraph of chapter two?
2. Are American traits a matter of the past or of the future?
3. What did the term "America" mean to the world in 1607?
4. What was the leading element in Americanism in 1776?
5. What phase of Americanism did Franklin personify?
6. Why do we give Washington the first place in the early history of Americanism?
7. What do you understand by "personal liberty"?

CHAPTER III

1. Why was the confederacy of 1783 to 1789 a failure?
2. For what opposite elements in Americanism did Hamilton and Jefferson stand?
3. Why did Calhoun oppose the supremacy of the Union?
4. What was the cause of the Civil War?
5. In what phases of American life today has the spirit of union and co-operation not entered extensively?

CHAPTER IV

1. What do you understand by the term, democracy?
2. Why did Jefferson fail to include the Negro in his conception of democracy?
3. What was Lincoln's chief contribution to Americanism?
4. What phases of democracy have we been slow to develop?
5. Illustrate Roosevelt's meaning of the term, "the square deal."
6. Illustrate President Wilson's phrase: "The world must be made safe for democracy."
7. Explain: "Democracy must be made safe for the world."

CHAPTER V

1. What meaning do you give to the term, internationalism?
2. What different types of internationalism can you name?
3. What attitude should we take toward Washington's injunction to the nation to avoid entangling alliances?
4. What is the chief difference between the Rooseveltian and the Wilsonian conception of internationalism?
5. Is Americanism the nationalization of internationalism?
6. When did America verge toward imperialism?
7. What is the relation of internationalism to the brotherhood of man principle?
8. Explain the statement that Christianity is the real internationalism in which all races are one.

CHAPTER VI

1. Who first discovered America?
2. Who were the second discoverers of America?
3. Who was the third discoverer of our continent?
4. What were the leading races in order of numbers to immigrate in colonial days?
5. What was Franklin's attitude toward immigration?
6. Why did the United States first undertake to count the number of immigrant arrivals?
7. When did the first wave of immigration to the United States occur?
8. When did immigration figures for the first time reach 100,000? 500,000? 1,000,000?
9. How has the center of emigration in Europe migrated in the last century?
10. What has been the nature of migration between the United States and Canada?
11. What races have migrated to the United States in the largest numbers?

CHAPTER VII

1. Why do American-born persons need to be Americanized?
2. What is the average American's conception of Americanism?
3. Is it true that the average American "adores the flag but suspects the state"?
4. What do you understand by the slogan, "America for the Americans"?
5. Explain: "Americans are more hospitable on Sundays than on week-days."
6. Give an original illustration of an unAmerican act of an American.
7. Why do many Americans neglect to vote?
8. Why do many Americans who are well fitted for public life refuse to become candidates for public office?

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9. Evaluate the Americanism in the statement, "My country, right or wrong."
10. Distinguish between Americanism and nativism.

CHAPTER VIII

1. What is the fundamental reason why the Indians and Americans have misunderstood one another so persistently?
2. Why did we have so many wars with the Indians?
3. What has been the main weakness of our educational program for the Indians?
4. What characteristics do Indians possess which would strengthen our Americanism?
5. Why have the Indians been supplanted by the Americans?

CHAPTER IX

1. What factors in the African history of the Negro are essential to an understanding of the Negro problem in this country.
2. What elements in the slavery status of the Negro help us to understand the Negro problem?
3. What fundamental mistake was made at the close of the Civil War in dealing with the Negro?
4. What industrial progress has the Negro made in the last forty years?
5. What percentage of Negroes have white blood?
6. What is the main cause of this intermixture?
7. How does the Negro rank criminally? Why?
8. What is his status with reference to poverty?
9. What is the social significance of Negro dolls?
10. Explain: Today the Negro in the South has fewer contacts with the Caucasian race than under slavery?
11. Compare Washington's and DuBois' solutions for the Negro problem.
12. Compare the North and the South in their respective attitudes toward the Negro problem.

13. Is it true that "those who want to keep the Negro down, need to get up themselves"?
14. What would you suggest as an adequate solution of the Negro problem?

CHAPTER X

1. Why have the Appalachian mountaineers not advanced?
2. Why are feuds so common among mountain peoples?
3. Why are mountaineers so pronounced in their likes and dislikes?
4. What are the greatest gifts that the mountain peoples of the United States can make to Americanism?
5. What is the greatest need of the Appalachian highlanders?

CHAPTER XI

1. Why did the English settlements in America succeed better than the colonies of other peoples?
2. What have been the main contributions of the English to Americanism?
3. Why do Americans generally fail to appreciate their indebtedness to the English?
4. Characterize Scotch influence in America.
5. Distinguish between the Scotch, the Scotch-Irish, and the Irish.
6. Why have the Irish migrated to the United States?
7. Explain the term "Hibernian."
8. Why have the Irish entered politics?
9. Why are there relatively few Irish millionaires?
10. Distinguish between the Danish, the Norwegian, and the Swedish peoples.
11. Who is the leading Swedish inventor? Author? Singer?
12. Who is the chief Norwegian dramatist?
13. Who do Scandinavians assimilate rapidly in America?
14. What were the causes of German migration?
15. What leaders in (a) politics, (b) music, (c) business in this country have been Germans?

CHAPTER XII

1. Why have the French migrated to the United States in relatively small numbers?
2. What have been the contributions of the Spanish to American life?
3. Distinguish between the North Italians and South Italians.
4. Describe living conditions in Southern Italy.
5. What is the South Italian's attitude toward government?
6. What gifts has the Italian immigrant to offer America?
7. Why did the Greeks migrate to this country?
8. What are the chief occupations of the Greek immigrant?
9. In what sense is the Greek a natural patriot?
10. Who has been the most illustrious Greek immigrant?

CHAPTER XIII

1. What are the leading Slavic races?
2. What is meant by pan-Slavism?
3. Which of the Slavic races has sent the largest numbers of emigrants to America?
4. How did Poland lose her position of political prominence?
5. Who are the leading Polish musicians?
6. Who has been Poland's best modern interpreter to the world?
7. To what Pole was it given "to alter the entire view of all the world for all mankind"?
8. What is the leading Polish trait?
9. Distinguish between the terms, Great Russian, Little Russian, Ruthenian, Cossack, Ukrainian.
10. Distinguish between the terms, Bohemian, Moravian, Slovak, Czech.
11. Who is the leading Bohemian violinist? composer? soprano?

12. What are the chief Serbo-Croatian groups?
13. Who are the Magyars?
14. Who has been the leading Magyar exponent of political freedom?

CHAPTER XIV

1. Explain the terms, Hebrew, Semitic, Yiddish, Ghetto.
2. What is the Jewish population of the world, and how is it distributed?
3. What is the largest center of Jewish population of the world?
4. Why did so many Jews congregate in Poland?
5. What is a "pogrom"?
6. What is Zionism?
7. Who are the best-known Jewish Americans?
8. Explain: "The Jewish immigrant is a shoestring capitalist."
9. Explain: "The Jew loses his religion in America."
10. In what ways do the Jews contribute to Americanism?

CHAPTER XV

1. How has East Indian immigration been handled?
2. What has been the character of Chinese immigration?
3. What are Chinese Tongs?
4. What legislation has been passed regarding the Chinese, and with what effect?
5. Is the problem of Chinese immigration settled?
6. When did Japanese immigration begin? Why?
7. What is the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan?
8. What is the California Alien Land Law?
9. Does this law satisfactorily settle the problem?
10. What is Dr. S. L. Gulick's plan for solving the Japanese question?
11. Is the Japan question settled?
12. Why are the Japanese called the "Yankees of the East"?

CHAPTER XVII

1. Contrast Americanization with Prussianization.
2. Why is a knowledge of ethnology necessary for doing Americanization work?
3. How may native-born Americans best lead the way in Americanization work?
4. What are the dangers of too much direct emphasis upon Americanization?
5. Does Americanization in any sense mean denationalization?

CHAPTER XVIII

1. What are the average immigrant's first impressions upon arrival in New York City?
2. What are the first adjustments that the immigrant has to make in the United States?
3. Is it true that America frequently makes of the immigrant an infuriated toiler?
4. Is it true that America robs some immigrants of their religious faith?
5. What is the chief difference between Americans at play and South Europeans at play?
6. Can you explain the statement: "In jail he came to appreciate fully what America stood for"?
7. Whose love of music is greater, Americans or immigrants?
8. Is it true that we are leaving millions of immigrants "in crowded tenements, unsanitary camps, and demoralizing mines which crush all mirth and song out of their lives"?
9. How may we best utilize the artistic traits of immigrants?
10. What races in the United States have the highest naturalization percentages? The lowest percentages?
11. Why are so many immigrants who have lived in this country five years or more, still unnaturalized?

12. In what relatively permanent way is American opinion expressed toward the immigrant?
13. What are the main provisions of our immigration laws?

CHAPTER XIX

1. What is meant by assimilation?
2. Distinguish between assimilation and amalgamation.
3. Why should an immigrant learn the English language?
4. What is the chief function of the foreign-language newspaper?
5. What are the chief causes of race prejudice?
6. In what ways can you personally assist in Americanization work?
7. Why should Americanization be made attractive rather than compulsory?
8. When will Americanization be completed?

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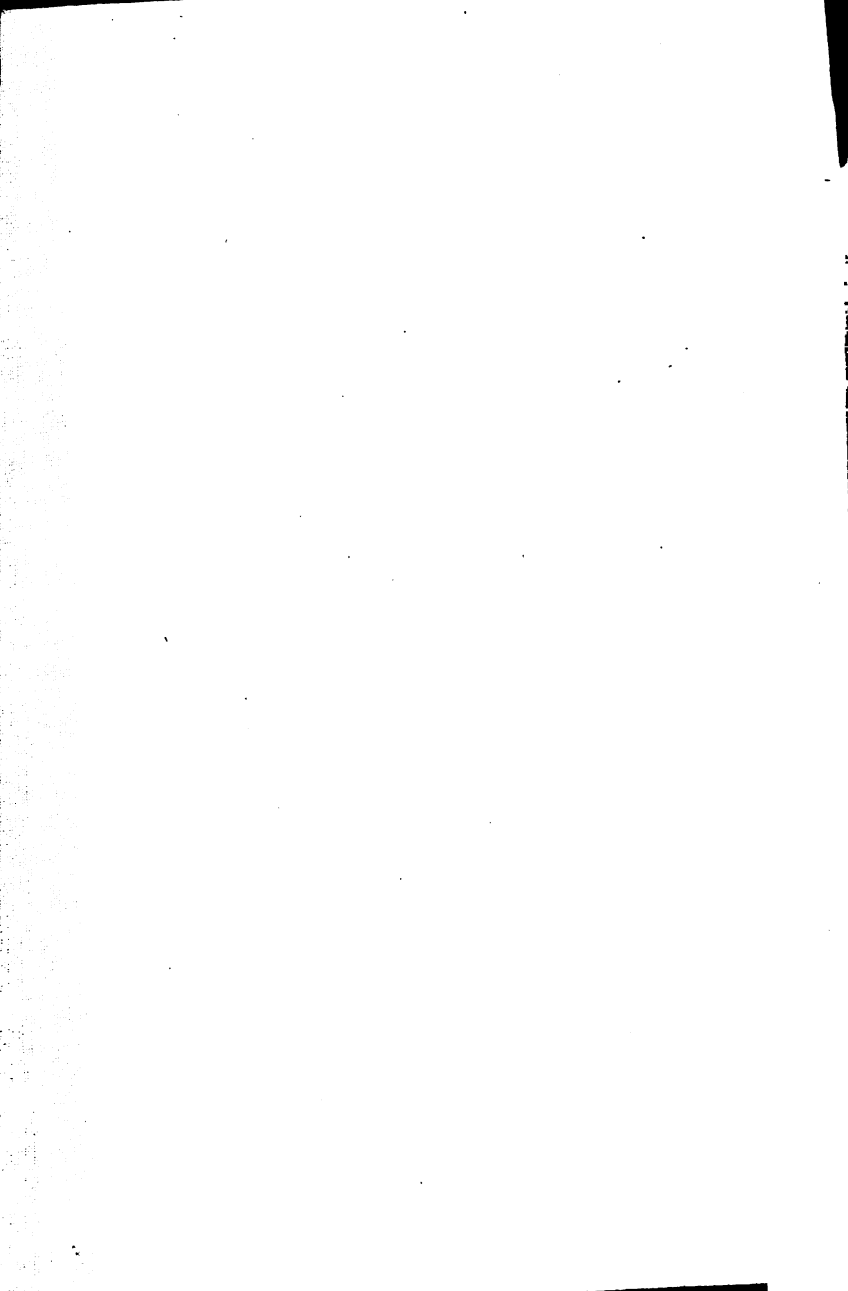
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